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LGBT rights-related collective action by minority and majority group members

[Zbiorowe działanie w związku z prawami osób LGBT wśród członków grupy mniejszościowej i większościowej]

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To my Mom

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Abstract

As one of the most galvanizing issues in current public debate, LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) rights inspire a large variety of collective action events. While some of these events are meant to improve the legal standing of sexual and gender minorities, others intend to limit the rights of this group. The current research aims to reveal what encourages LGBT and heterosexual/cisgender individuals to engage in collective action related to LGBT rights. Using sexual stigma theoretical framework as conceptual bedrock, we integrate insights from different collective action literatures and formulate 44 hypotheses on macro-, meso-, and micro-level antecedents of engagement related to the rights of LGBT people. These hypotheses are then tested across nine studies conducted among minority and majority members. The results suggest that collective action intended to increase or restrict the rights of sexual and gender minorities originates not only from proximal psychological factors, but is also embedded in distal, structural factors. As such, present findings justify the integration of individualist and structuralist perspectives in future collective action research.

Keywords: collective action, sexual stigma, LGBT, context, solidarity, sexual prejudice

Streszczenie

Jako jedna z najbardziej elektryzujących kwestii w bieżącej debacie politycznej, prawa osób LGBT (tj. lesbijek, gejów, osób biseksualnych i transpłciowych) inspirują szeroki wachlarz przypadków zbiorowego działania. Podczas gdy niektóre z tych inicjatyw mają na celu poprawę sytuacji prawnej osób LGBT, inne dążą do ograniczenia praw przedstawicieli tej grupy. Celem niniejszego programu badawczego było ustalenie, co sprawia, że osoby LGBT oraz osoby heteroseksualne/cispłciowe angażują się w zbiorowe działanie związane z prawami osób LGBT. W oparciu o integrację teoretyczną odrębnych podejść w badaniach nad aktywizmem z teorią piętna seksualnego, sformułowano 44 hipotezy dotyczące źródeł zbiorowego działania związanego z prawami osób LGBT, przyporządkowując oczekiwane predyktory zaangażowania do trzech poziomów analizy – makro, mezo i mikro. Hipotezy te zostały następnie przetestowane w dziewięciu badaniach, w których udział wzięli zarówno członkowie grupy mniejszościowej (tj. osoby LGBT), jak i większościowej (tj. osoby heteroseksualne/cispłciowe. Otrzymane wyniki sugerują, że zbiorowe działanie nakierowane na rozszerzenie bądź ograniczenie zakresu praw przysługujących osobom LGBT wyjaśniane jest nie tylko przez proksymalne zmienne psychologiczne, ale też przez dystalne czynniki strukturalne. Opisane w niniejszej pracy badania przemawiają zatem za integracją podejścia indywidualistycznego i strukturalistycznego w przyszłych badaniach nad aktywizmem.

Słowa kluczowe: zbiorowe działanie, piętno seksualne, LGBT, kontekst, solidarność, uprzedzenia seksualne

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Homophobia's got to go!" chanted thousands of New Yorkers marching to protest the murder of Mark Carson, a Greenwich Village dweller shot in the head due to his homosexuality in May 2013 (Peltz & Hays, 2013). The anti-discrimination rally organized by the local gay community earned a rapid response from municipal authorities. The day after the march, Michael Bloomberg, the city mayor, promised that the police would do everything to stop the wave of anti-gay hate crime (Colvin, 2013).

Just a month later, in another part of the world, a 24-year-old man was arrested for publicly displaying a homemade sign that read, "Being gay and loving gays is normal. Beating gays and killing gays is criminal." Dmitry Isakov, a lone protester from the city of Kazan, Russia, was the first person to be convicted under the "homosexual propaganda" law – a legal regulation penalizing the presentation of positive opinions on homosexuality to the minors (Bennett-Smith, 2013; Johnson, 2015).

The stories of two anti-homophobia protests held almost simultaneously in the United States and Russia make it clear that the shape and consequences of engagement on behalf of sexual and gender minorities, as well as other disadvantaged groups, depend heavily on the type of political system. On the one hand, democratic regimes (the American system in the current example) are open and responsive to citizens' demands. In this type of polities, protests attendance serves as the conventional way of participating in the political system and affecting the authorities (Norris, 2002). The "normalized" character of the protest behaviour is reflected in a multitude of active social movement organizations (SMOs) and mass participation in some protest events (van Aelst & Walgrave, 2001). On the other hand, non-democratic regimes (e.g., Russia) typically restrict the expression of civic postulates and

respond negatively to people's claims. In this type of political systems, the individual costs of protest may be extremely high, including fines, detention, expulsion or death penalty (Boudreau, 2009), which makes activism a high-risk enterprise (Loveman, 1998). High psychological barriers to engagement are reflected, in turn, by the scarcity of protest events and low participation therein.

Objective context properties such as the type of political regime are crucial for the emergence of individual protest behaviour. This fact has been long recognized in sociology and political science literatures. Both theory (e.g. McAdam, 1996; Meyer, 2004; Tarrow, 2011) and research (e.g. Dalton, van Sickle, & Weldon, 2010; Welzel & Deutsch, 2012) produced in these disciplines underscore the importance of contextual (structural) factors such as political institutions or normative climate in facilitating individual engagement.

However, not all academic accounts of protest behaviour acknowledge the role of context properties. Social psychology usually fails to recognize the structural underpinnings of individual engagement (van Zomeren, 2016). If social-psychological theories of collective action deal with context at all, they limit themselves to the way in which the structural setting is *perceived*, neglecting its *actual* (or objective) state. For instance, social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) – one of the earliest accounts of protest behaviour in social psychology – posits that collective action of the disadvantaged is most likely when social structure is *viewed* as illegitimate, impermeable and unstable. In the empirical domain, social-psychological studies of engagement rarely go beyond the subjective factors and the individual level of analysis (for the exceptions, see Cichocka, Górska, Jost, Sutton, & Bilewicz, 2017; Corcoran, Pettinicchio, & Young, 2011; van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & van Dijk, 2009). Importantly, the neglect of context in collective action research reflects the feature of social psychology as a whole (Oishi & Graham, 2010). The careless approach to extra-individual factors is also epitomized by the imprecise meaning of the term "context"

itself. In psychology, "context" functions as an umbrella term covering phenomena from different levels of analysis – and the very same label is attached to strongly dissimilar factors such as laboratory-based experimental manipulations and large-scale entities such as political systems.

How does this "structural blindness" affect collective action research in psychology? To answer this question, one should consider the assumptions that underlie the exclusive focus on individual-level properties. By limiting themselves to subjective phenomena, social-psychological accounts of collective action indirectly communicate that contextual factors do not matter in facilitating or suppressing engagement. Following this logic, the results of social-psychological studies of protest participation – usually obtained on samples coming from Western, educated, industrialized, rich and democratic (WEIRD; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010) societies (for an exception see Ayanian & Tausch, 2016) – make an implicit claim for universality, as if they could be generalized to humankind as a whole. This claim is compromised by at least two lines of research. First, multi-level analyses performed on large datasets from international surveys show that the subjective antecedents of engagement work differently depending on the properties of the institutional setting (e.g. Cichocka et al., 2017; Corcoran et al., 2011; Dalton et al., 2010; Welzel & Deutsch, 2012). Second, cross-sectional studies conducted outside of the WEIRD world (e.g. van Zomeren, Susilani, & Berend, 2016) demonstrate that social-psychological models of collective action devised in the WEIRD societies do not necessarily replicate beyond this context. Thus, it seems that by omitting higher levels of analysis, theories proposed within social psychology overlook a substantial set of elements that could possibly advance our understanding of processes leading to protest behaviour. From a more general perspective, by neglecting the context, social psychology of collective action cannot fully attain the basic aims of science, such as description, explanation and prediction of reality (Comte, 1974).

Importantly, the limited scope of attention is not unique to social-psychological reflection on activism. It concerns political science and sociology as well. While these disciplines offer a refined understanding of structural conditions behind protest behaviour (e.g., Tarrow, 2011), they provide only a limited account of psychological catalysts of engagement (Andretta & della Porta, 2014). The dominant assumption holds that individuals are rational actors who undertake collective action (or decide to free-ride instead) on the basis of cost-benefit calculation (Olson, 1965; Opp, 2009). In contrast, core motivations to protest participation identified within social psychology (i.e., identity, morality, emotions and efficacy; see van Zomeren, 2013, 2016a) are rather undervalued.

Differences in terms of focus, assumptions and terminology may block dialogue between the disciplines studying protest behaviour and, as such, hinder scientific progress defined as the synthesis of knowledge from different fields (Wilson, 1998). However, the divergences between social psychology on the one hand and political science and sociology on the other hand may be treated as an asset (see van Zomeren, 2016a). Specifically, structuralist and individualist accounts of activism seem to provide different pieces of what may be called a complete picture of collective action. While psychology offers detailed knowledge on the proximal antecedents of engagement such as group identity or emotions, political science and sociology provide understanding of the distal sources of collective action such as institutional order or social networks. By integrating these two perspectives, one may simultaneously capitalize on their insights and overcome their limitations.

The primary aim of this dissertation is to investigate *whether* and *how* institutional and interpersonal environments (i.e., legal regulations, organizational setting, and social networks) affect collective action undertaken by the members of disadvantaged and advantaged groups.

To this end, we[1] combine insights from psychological and structural perspectives on engagement. The specific hypotheses we formulate in the current dissertation assume that objective features of structure (e.g. legal regulations) affect individuals' engagement by changing subjective factors (e.g. in-group identification). As such, the present work goes beyond "local" assumptions of different disciplines; collective action is no longer viewed either as an isolated event in social and institutional vacuum (the weakness of psychological approach) or an exact reflection of the structural setting (the typical flaw within political science and sociology). By recognizing structural and psychological antecedents of collective action simultaneously, the present dissertation responds to the recent appeal for bridging different theoretical traditions to advance the knowledge on activism (van Zomeren, 2016a).

The interdisciplinary integration we aim for is performed in the context of LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender/Transsexual)[2] rights. Through LGBT rights-related collective action we imply any case of engagement whose objectives involve changes in the legal standing of LGBT people. Since this definition is rather broad, the present work deals with diverse cases of activism, ranging from LGBT individuals' efforts aimed to promote their group interests (a phenomenon that the literature usually terms LGBT or gay activism; see Ayoub & Paternotte, 2014), through solidarity-based engagement of heterosexual/cisgender[3] allies, to heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action

[1] Througout this dissertation I use the plural personal pronoun to emphasise that the current research was a collective enterprise with the considerable input of my co-authors. At the same time, I take full responsibility for any shortcomings the readers would notice.

[2] Throughout the text, depending on the scope of past evidence, specific studies and conclusions, we speak either of LGBT, LGB or homosexual people.

[3] The term „cisgender"applies to individuals whose gender identity matches the sex assigned at birth.

intended to limit the rights of sexual and gender minorities. We believe that situating our research programme in the context of LGBT rights infuses it with ecological validity. As one of the most galvanizing issues in the current political debate, LGBT equality has both its commited supporters as well as die-hard opponents. Both of these groups, however, organize high-profile collective action events to defend their ideological positions. This is the case also for Poland, where the majority of the current data was gathered.

Another goal of the present research is to provide a more refined perspective on the psychological catalysts of LGBT rights-related engagement. As far as LGBT individuals are concerned, we look into the role of internalized stigma. Although past studies revelead numerous correlates of self-stigmantization among the members of sexual and gender minorities (e.g., Newcomb & Mustanski, 2010), to our knowledge, it has not been linked to collective action so far. In the following chapters, we posit internalized stigma as a key predictor of LGBT activism and propose processes through which it may inhibit this case of protest behaviour. Regarding the members of heterosexual/cisgender majority, we connect their engagement to sexual prejudice, which is in line with the past research on the topic (e.g., Swank, Woodford, & Lim, 2013). At the same time, we propose that different forms of sexual prejudice may be especially relevant to particular types of activism. This goes beyond past research that has not matched different modes of outgroup-directed antipathy to distinct classes of engagement.

1.1. Analytical framework

The current dissertation seeks to identify distal and proximal antecedents of three different types of collective action. First, we investigate the sources of LGBT activism aimed to extend the rights of sexual and gender minorities. Second, we examine the underpinnings of heterosexual/cisgender individuals' engagement in solidarity with LGBT people. Finally,

we try to learn what pushes heterosexual/cisgender majority members to actively demand the limitation of LGBT rights. Drawing on different theoretical traditions with the leading role of sexual stigma perspective (Herek, 2004, 2007, 2009), in the following chapters, we identify numerous factors that may affect collective action related to LGBT rights. To order these factors in a systematic fashion, we adopt four conceptual distinctions that, when superimposed into each other, build an analytical framework of our research programme (Figure 1). In this section, we discuss each of the critical distinctions we make.

First of all, we differentiate between collective action aiming to extend vs. limit the rights of LGBT people. We assume that – analogically to the well-established theoretical dichotomies such as positive vs. negative affect (e.g. Cacioppo & Berntson, 1994, 2001) or approach vs. avoidance motivation (e.g., Carver & White, 1994) – engagement aimed to improve vs. worsen the position of a given group (be it in-group or out-group) constitute two distinct phenomena. In other words, we argue that the lack of engagement against a specific group does not mean that one would act on its behalf. The good illustration of this point is the behaviour of German-occupied societies during the Holocaust. The small percentage of denouncers or perpetrators among the non-Jewish members of these societies does not imply that helping Jews was a common practice back then. In fact, the most numerous group were bystanders – the passive witnesses of the genocide (Oliner & Oliner, 1988; Staub, 2002).

The second distinction refers to the group membership of those involved in collective action. Specifically, we differentiate between LGBT people, who engage to advance the interests of their in-group, and heterosexual/cisgender individuals, who undertake protest behaviour to improve or lower the position of the out-group (i.e., LGBT people). Importantly, since we do not consider LGBT activism against the rights of sexual and gender minorities an

ecologically valid option[4], the group membership dimension is not perfectly independent from the distinction based on the collective action objective.

Third, we differentiate between three levels of analysis (Oishi & Graham, 2010). While the macro level pertains to large-scale structures, such as countries or markets, the meso level covers intermediate units such as counties or cities and the micro level refers to individuals. By dividing the scope of analysis into three layers, we add to the social-psychological literature in two ways. First, we recognize that individuals are embedded and, to some extent, affected by the properties of the higher order structures, such as neighbourhoods or legal systems. Second, we take a more granular perspective on context through differentiating its distal (macro-level) and more immediate (meso-level) parts.

Finally, we make a distinction for psychological and structural antecedents of collective action. While psychological sources of engagement refer to subjective phenomena like attitudes, beliefs and emotions, structural antecedents of protest behaviour denote the objective arrangements individuals are embedded in such as social networks, organizational setting or legal regulations.

[4] Although some LGBT individuals object to the idea of gay marriage (Geoghegan, 2013), we are not aware of any actions aiming to *limit* the rights of sexual minorities that would have been arranged by LGBT *organizations*.

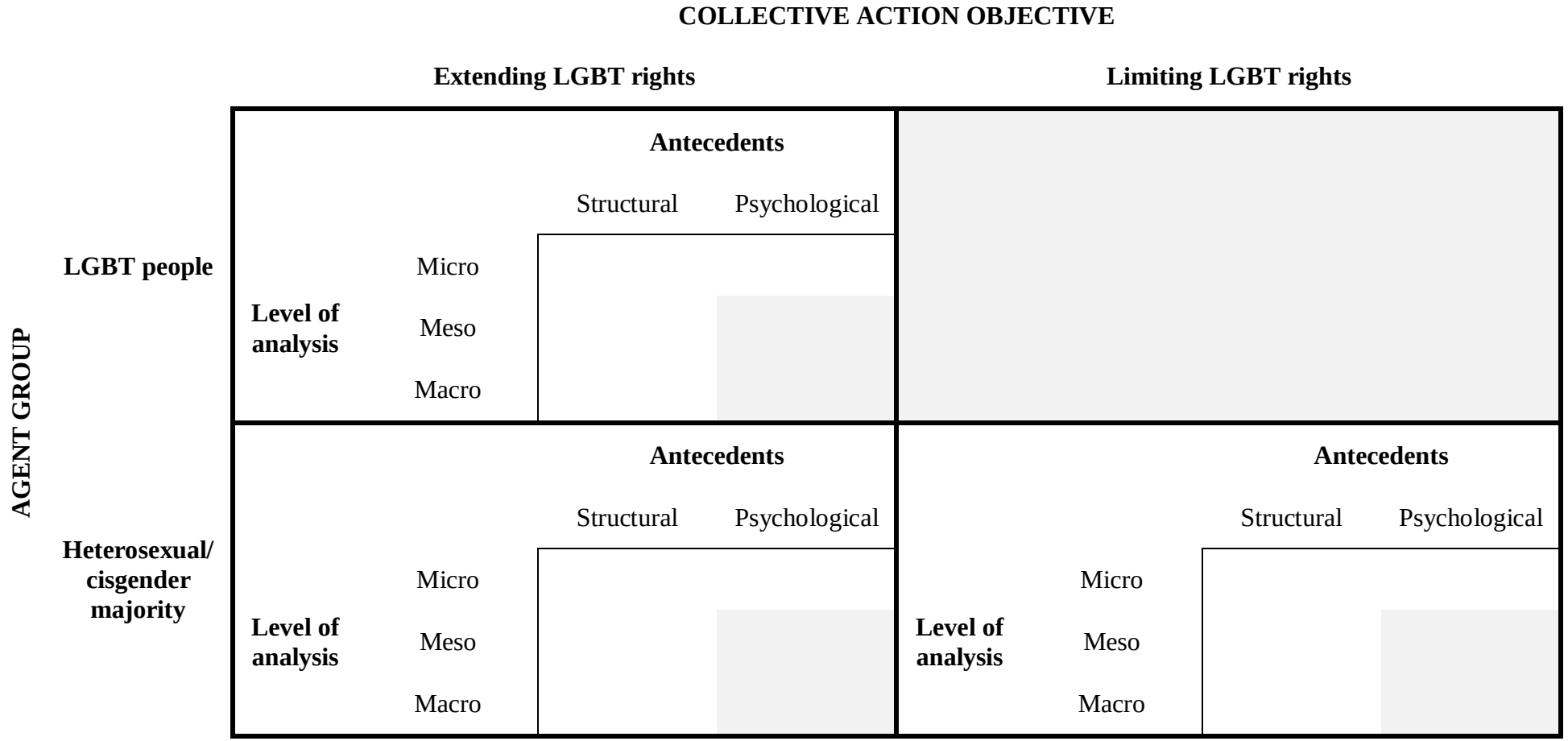

Figure 1. Analytical framework of the present dissertation

Note. The grey cells denote issues that were beyond our interest.

1.2. The chapters to come

Through the following chapters, we apply the analytical framework described in the previous section to investigate the sources of LGBT rights-related activism. We begin from introducing the sexual stigma theoretical framework (Herek, 2004, 2007, 2009) – a perspective that serves as conceptual bedrock to our theorizing and research (Chapter 2). In Chapter 3, we identify the potential sources of collective action among LGBT individuals. Chapter 4, on the other hand, discusses the antecedents of heterosexual/cisgender individuals' engagement in solidarity with LGBT people. In Chapter 5, we suggest the possible causes of majority members' collective action intended to limit the rights of sexual and gender minorities. Chapters 6-8 follow up the ideas introduced in Chapter 3. In these chapters, we present the results of three studies examining, respectively, the micro-, meso-, and macro-level antecedents of LGBT activism. In turn, studies presented in Chapters 9-11 verify the hypotheses formulated in Chapters 4 and 5. Across six studies, we investigate the micro-, meso-, and macro-level sources of heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action aiming to extend or limit LGBT rights. Finally, Chapter 12 discusses the results obtained in our research programme. In this chapter, we reiterate the hypotheses introduced in Chapters 3-5 and summarize their empirical tests described in Chapters 6-11. Furthermore, we consider theoretical as well as practical implications of our findings, and we indicate possible avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 2

SEXUAL STIGMA CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Dealing with three distinct types of collective action, the current dissertation employs ideas from a range of, at times quite distant, theoretical traditions. However, all lines of investigation are brought together by the sexual stigma conceptual framework (Herek, 2004, 2007, 2009). In the present chapter, we present this theory and justify its suitability to the issues introduced in Chapter 1.

2.1. Sexual stigma – definition

Sexual stigma conceptual framework has been developed by Gregory Herek (2004; 2007, 2009) to integrate sociocultural and individual approaches to stigma and prejudice directed at LGB individuals.[5] The central concept in this theory is *sexual stigma* – "society's shared belief system through which homosexuality is denigrated, discredited and constructed as invalid relative to heterosexuality" (Herek, 2009, p. 171). As such, sexual stigma is a particular case of *stigma*, a concept whose seminal account was provided by Goffman (1963). According to his classic definition, stigma refers to an "attribute that is deeply discrediting" and reduces its carrier "from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one"

[5] Although in its original version Herek's (2004, 2007, 2009) theory was limited to the stigmatization of LGB individuals, it was later applied to understand prejudice toward transgender people as well (e.g., Norton & Herek, 2013). This was justified by the high correlation between attitudes toward sexual and gender minorities (Nagoshi et al., 2008). Since we assume that stigmatization processes of transgender and LGB individuals are similar, we write of sexual stigma as if its effects concerned LGBT community as a whole. At the same time, we are aware that some parts of transgender experience are unique.

(Goffman, 1963, p. 3). The stigmatizing attribute may be either apparent or concealable. Regardless of visibility, however, its bearers have a limited access to valuable resources and occupy an inferior position in a given society. This makes them distinct from *the normal* – the non-stigmatized individuals who enjoy high status and full social recognition (Goffman, 1963).

Sexual stigma is a stigma due to one's sexual orientation. It divides people into two categories that differ in power and the degree of social acknowledgement – heterosexual/cisgender majority members (the normal) and LGBT minority representatives (the stigmatized). It constitutes a case of concealable stigma since group membership of the stigmatized is not readily apparent. As postulated by Herek (2004, 2007, 2009), sexual stigma pervades all domains of social life; it is not only reflected in individual beliefs and behaviors but is also entrenched in the institutions created by a given society. Because of its ubiquity, sexual stigma affects both the stigmatized and the normal.

In the following sections, we describe the expressions of sexual stigma on societal and individual level of analysis. Furthermore, we review empirical evidence showing the impact of sexual stigma exerts on LGBT and heterosexual/cisgender individuals.

2.2. Sexual stigma at the societal level

Institutional sexual stigma, also termed heterosexism (Herek, 2009) or structural stigma (Hatzenbuehler, 2014) is a macro-level instantiation of sexual stigma. It involves a set of organizing principles that either do not recognize the interests of LGBT people or overtly subject this group to discrimination (Herek, 2009). Its instances differ in their severity and may be observed in various areas such as religion, medicine, or law. In the present dissertation, we focus on the legal manifestations of structural stigma, which practicioners call

"state-sponsored homophobia" (e.g. Carroll, 2016).[6]

As proposed by Herek (2009), discriminatory legal arrangements that emerge from negative (usually religion-rooted) convictions on homosexuality serve two basic functions. First, they deny sexual and gender minorities access to certain resources and opportunities. Second, they communicate and legitimize the inferior status of homosexuality. Importantly, by conveying this message institutional stigma propels individual manifestations of sexual stigma, including internalized homophobia or sexual prejudice.

There are three different ways in which legal regulations may express and perpetuate the inferior status of sexual and gender minorities (Herek, Chopp, & Strohl, 2007; see also Carroll, 2016). First, sexual acts between two adults of the same sex may be criminalized (i.e., sodomy law). Although penalization of homosexual intercourse is no longer the case in the WEIRD societies, it still may be observed in other parts of the world. For example, the Mauritanian Penal Code subjects same sex sexual acts to the death penalty (Ghai, 2011). Second, LGBT individuals may be denied basic civil liberties, such as freedom of expression. This situation is exemplified by the "homosexual propaganda" law in Russia that, on the pretext of child protection, penalizes public displays of positive opinions on homosexuality (Johnson, 2015). Finally, legal regulations may reinforce power differences between the heterosexual/cisgender majority and the LGBT minority. This is represented, for example, by the absence of antidiscrimination laws in some European countries (Carroll & Mendes, 2017; International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association Europe [ILGA Europe], 2015a, 2015b).

The recent decade witnessed a substantial change in the way many countries legally treat their LGBT citizens. The number of countries that penalize homosexual conduct, for

[6] From now on, by „institutional stigma" we would mean the legal arrangements that convey sexual stigma.

example, dropped from 92 in 2006 to 73 in 2016 (Carroll, 2016). In the same period, 17 states introduced same-sex marriages, and another 12 implemented same-sex civil partnerships. Never before in modern history have LGBT individuals enjoyed such a rapid improvement in their civil rights (Kollman, 2013). However, structural stigma is not something of the past. Even in Europe, where the shift toward equality surfaced most strongly, some countries still discriminate sexual and gender minorities (Carroll & Mendes, 2017; ILGA Europe, 2015a). Therefore, it is important to learn *whether* and *how* institutional stigma translates to thoughts, feelings and behaviors of minority and majority members.

There is strong evidence that discriminatory legal arrangements deteriorate mental and physical health of LGBT individuals (for a review, see Hatzenbuehler, 2014). For example, LGB adults living in US states that had not provided sexual minorities with legal protection against hate crime and employment discrimination were shown to manifest higher dysthymia, generalized anxiety and PTSD symptoms than their counterparts from states that had implemented pro-LGB policies (Hatzenbuehler, Keyes, & Hasin, 2009). Similar effects were observed for the transgender population – a study of American transgender veterans revealed that the lack of state-level discrimination protection in employment was associated with the increased risk of mood disorders and self-directed violence (Blosnich et al., 2016). Solid evidence on the negative consequences of institutional stigma has been provided by Hatzenbuehler, McLaughlin, Keyes and Hasin (2010). As revealed in their longitudinal study, the same-sex marriage ban introduced by 16 US states in 2004 and 2005 led to an increase in generalized anxiety, mood disorders and alcohol-use disorders among LGB residents of these states. Importantly, such changes were not observed among LGB individuals living in states that did not pass constitutional amendments prohibiting same-sex marriage.

However, the effects of institutional sexual stigma are not limited to LGBT people. Sexual prejudice – heterosexuals/cisgender individuals' antipathy toward sexual and gender

minorities (Herek, 2004, 2009) – shows a positive association with state-sponsored homophobia. As consistently shown by comparative surveys, individuals living in countries with more conservative policies toward LGBT people show more (rather than less) negative attitudes toward sexual and gender minorities (Hooghe & Meeusen, 2013; Kuntz, Davidov, Schwartz, & Schmidt, 2015; Slenders, Sieben, & Verbakel, 2014; Takács, Szalma, & Bartus, 2016; van den Akker, van der Ploeg, & Scheepers, 2013).

2.3. Sexual stigma at the individual level

Appart from institutional arrangements, sexual stigma may be displayed in attitudes and behaviors of particular individuals. As proposed by Herek (2004, 2007, 2009), individual manifestations of sexual stigma include felt, internalized and enacted stigma. In this section, we shortly describe each of these phenomena.

Felt sexual stigma refers to the awareness of unfavourable social norms related to homosexuality. When conscious of negative norms surrounding homosexual behaviour, people modify their action to avoid stigmatization. Importantly, as discrimination based on sexual stigma is not limited to sexual minority members (Sigelman, Howell, Cornell, Cutright, & Dewey, 1991), felt sexual stigma shapes the behviour of both the stigmatized and the normal. For example, to evade stigmatization in interpersonal relationships, LGBT individuals may employ stigma management strategies, such as censoring information about private life or lying to be perceived as straight (Meyer, 2003). The benefits of such behaviors may be especially pronounced in hostile environments, where concealing one's non-normative identity protects LGBT individuals from physical and psychological victimization (Kosciw, Palmer, & Kull, 2015). In the long run, however, identity concealment may result in poor mental health due to the continued threat of discovery (Beals, Peplau, & Gable, 2009; Pachankis, 2007). As far as heterosexual/cisgender individuals are concerned, felt stigma may

prompt them to use self-presentation strategies that lower the risk of being misclassified as an LGBT person. The scope of such behaviors is wide and ranges from avoiding physical contact with same sex friends (Roese, Olson, Borenstein, Martin, & Shores, 1992) to aggression against homosexual targets (Talley & Bettencourt, 2008). The tendency to behaviourally state one's normative identity is especially strong among heterosexual men. This is because, in contrast to womanhood, the socially-construed notion of manhood precludes homosexuality (Kimmel, 1997) and requires delivering constant proofs of one's masculinity (Vandello & Bosson, 2013).

In contrast to felt stigma that concerns the attitudes of *other* people, internalized stigma denotes *personal* acceptance of sexual stigma (Herek, 2004, 2007, 2009). As such, it indicates that the inferior status of homosexuality has been incorporated into one's self-concept or value system. The exact shape of internalized stigma depends on the group membership of its holder. For sexual and gender minorities, this type of sexual stigma takes the form of internalized homophobia or transphobia. On the other hand, internalization of sexual stigma by straight/cisgender individuals results in sexual prejudice.

Internalized homophobia is a negative affect that gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals project onto themselves as a result of their acceptance of societal anti-homosexual attitudes (Herek, 2009; Meyer, 2003). This type of self-stigmatization develops as a consequence of intrapsychic conflict between the expectations people believe they should meet (i.e., being heterosexual) and the way they actually feel, homosexual or bisexual, (Herek, 2004). Similarly to other forms of self-stigmatization, internalized homophobia leads to any combination of adverse psychological consequences such as low self-esteem (Herek et al., 2009), relationship problems (Frost & Meyer, 2009), anxiety and depression (Newcomb & Mustanski, 2010). The individual level of internalized homophobia decreases with age – along with the greater disclosure of their identity to an ever-growing audience, LGB

individuals come to terms with their homosexuality or bisexuality (Cass, 1979, 1984; Troiden, 1989). It is not likely, however, that internalized homophobia diminishes completely throughout life. Sexual stigma engrained in early socialization and present in external circumstances prevents the full decline of self-stigmatization among LGB individuals (Meyer, 2003).

Among the members of heterosexual/cisgender majority, in turn, internalized sexual stigma takes the form of sexual prejudice[7], which is defined as a negative attitude toward gay men and lesbians (Herek, 2004). Sexual prejudice may be expressed in multiple ways ranging from blatant beliefs about pathological and contagious character of homosexuality (see Chapter 5) to relatively subtle opposition towards political demands put forward by the LGBT social movement (see Chapter 4). What is common for all these, however, is the negative affect toward gay men and lesbian women.

Over the past few decades, the global level of sexual prejudice has displayed a consistent tendency to decrease (Andersen & Fetner, 2008; Baunach, 2012). Due to cultural shifts in the direction of empancipative values (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), attitudes toward sexual and gender minorities have become more favorable, which, at least in some places, led to the adoption of pro-LGBT policies (Lax & Phillips, 2009). However, there are numerous contexts where hostility toward LGBT people still prevails. This is the case also for some segments of WEIRD societies. As shown by the past research, sexual prejudice is associated with numerous demographic properties such as gender, age, education, and religiosity – hostility toward LGBT people is most likely for male, older, less educated and more religious

[7] In the literature, sexual prejudice is also termed "homophobia" or "homonegativity." Since, as pointed out by Herek (2004), the term "homophobia" suggests that hostility toward homosexuals originates from pathological fear, which is not always the case, in what follows we do not use this label to refer to sexual prejudice.

individuals (Herek, 2009).

As defined by Herek (2004, 2007, 2009), *enacted stigma* involves open behavioral expressions of sexual stigma (Herek, 2007, 2009). It ranges from relatively mild cases of psychological violence, such as telling homophobic jokes, to extreme forms of physical violence, such as attacks. The results of LGBT community-based surveys suggest that victimization due to one's sexual orientation or gender identity is a common experience among sexual and gender minorities' members. For example, in a recent study of the Polish LGBT community, almost 30% of participants reported experiencing hate-related physical or psychological violence in the past five years (Górska, Budziszewska, Knut, & Łada, 2016). At the same time, victimization rates seem to be lower in countries that criminalise hate crimes based on sexual orientation and gender identity (European Agency for Fundamental Rights [FRA], 2013). A large body of evidence shows the deleterious impact that enacted stigma exerts on its targets. Experiencing LGBT-based violence is related, among others, to stronger depressive and PTSD symptoms (Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 1999), generalized anxiety (Timmins, Rimes, & Rahman, 2017) or suicidal ideation (Baams, Grossman, & Russell, 2015). Importantly, homophobic and transphobic hate crimes have stronger psychological consequences than comparable crimes of non-prejudiced nature (Herek et al., 1999; Winiewski & Górska, 2017).

As far as heterosexual/cisgender majority members are concerned, enactments of sexual stigma show consistent association with sexual prejudice. Harboring negative attitudes toward the members of sexual and gender minorities has been demonstrated to correlate positively with, for example, administering stronger electric shocks to fictious gay male partners (e.g. Parrott & Lisco, 2015) or self-reported antigay behaviour (e.g., Parrott, Peterson, & Bakeman, 2011).

2.4. Sexual stigma and collective action

We propose that the conceptual universum provided by sexual stigma theoretical framework may be effectively applied to the investigation of collective action among LGBT and heterosexual/cisgender individuals. In the following paragraphs, we establish the relevance of sexual stigma theory to our research questions and indicate the place of LGBT rights-related collective action in this perspective.

There are three reasons why sexual stigma theory provides a suitable lens to investigate collective action related to LGBT rights. First, sexual stigma theory employs a sociological approach to stigma, viewing the latter as the shared knowledge of attributes denigrated in a given society (Goffman, 1963; Link & Phelan, 2001). This definition shifts emphasis from the properties of individuals to the norms prevalent in a social context. As such, the effects of stigma are no longer limited to the stigmatized, but concern all members of society. Importantly, detailed treatment of the stigma's overarching effects differentiates Herek's theory from other prominent perspectives in psychological literature. Unlike the minority stress model (Meyer, 1995; 2003) or the identity threat model of stigma (Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998), a sexual stigma approach encompasses emotions, beliefs and behaviors of the stigmatized *and* the normal. By doing so, it matches the range of the present dissertation, which covers collective action undertaken by both LGBT and heterosexual/cisgender individuals.

Second, in contrast to most theories in social psychology, the sexual stigma theoretical framework addresses phenomena located at different levels of analysis. Specifically, it differentiates between the macro-level (i.e., institutional stigma) and individual-level (e.g. internalized homophobia or sexual prejudice) emanations of disregard for homosexuality. Although the two-level structure of Herek's theory does not provide a perfect match for a three-level division we adopt in our research programme (see Figure 1), by problematizing the

contextual antecedents of individual behaviour sexual stigma framework coincides with the main premise of the current dissertation.

Third, beyond providing a range of empirically substantiated concepts, sexual stigma theory posits that different manifestations of sexual stigma may affect and reinforce each other. For example, heterosexism embedded in legal regulations is assumed to entail stronger sexual prejudice among the members of heterosexual/cisgender majority, which in turn may translate into more intense enactments of sexual stigma (e.g., hate crime). At the same time, discriminatory legal arrangements are hypothesized to enhance felt and internalized stigma among sexual and gender minorities' members, which may lead to specific behavior (e.g., identity concealment). As such, a sexual stigma approach suggests mechanisms that link societal and individual expressions of sexual stigma. We believe that similar processes may operate when collective action and its micro-, meso-, and macro-level antecedents are concerned.

Even though sexual stigma framework does not address collective action directly, concepts specified in Herek's theory may be easily related to the engagement of minority and majority representatives. The exact form of these connections depends on the purpose and group membership of the prospective collective action participants.

When seen through the prism of sexual stigma theory, collective action of LGBT individuals may be perceived as a form of coping with in-group's stigmatization.[8] By undertaking protest behaviour, LGBT individuals actively respond to their in-group's disadvantage (DiFulvio, 2011). What should be noted is that LGBT activism seems to confront sexual stigma on both the societal and individual level of analysis. Specifically, collective action aiming to increase the rights of sexual and gender minorities is by definition directed at institutional stigma. At the same time, participation in the collective action events

[8] This interpretation is also congruent with the minority stress model (Meyer, 1995, 2003).

may diminish internalized stigma of LGBT individuals. For example, exposition to the affirmative view of sexual and gender minorities at pride festivals may help LGBT individuals to overcome the self-directed negative affect. By the same token, collective action events staged by the LGBT social movement may lower sexual prejudice among the members of heterosexual/cisgender majority.

Viewing LGBT activism as a way of confronting sexual stigma resonates well with the assumption of the dual pathway model of collective action (van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004) – a perspective on engagement inspired by Lazarus and Folkman's (1984; see also Lazarus, 2001) psychological stress and coping theory. In this model, collective disadvantage (which in the case of LGBT individuals would be sexual stigma) is conceptualized as an environmental demand that a person needs to respond to. The actual reaction may take a form of avoidance or approach coping. While disidentification with the disadvantaged in-group or acceptance of the status quo serve as the examples of avoidance coping, collective action constitutes an approach form of coping. The choice between avoidance and approach response to in-group disadvantage depends on several factors, such as in-group identification, group-based emotions and the sense of collective efficacy.

Having established the place of LGBT collective action in the conceptual landscape of sexual stigma theory, it is also worthwhile to consider the meaning of inaction. We propose that the lack of engagement from the members of sexual and gender minorities may be interpreted as the behavioural expression of sexual stigma. As we explain in greater detail in Chapter 3, institutional and internalized stigma may prevent LGBT individuals' from acting on behalf of their in-group (see Chapter 3). At the same time, through abstaining from collective action, sexual and gender minorities' members may unwillingly contribute to the maintenance of the system that subjects them to oppression. In terminology provided by the

dual pathway model of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2012), inaction would be tantamount to avoidance coping with the disadvantage.

Solidarity-based collective action of heterosexual/cisgender people – the second case of engagement considered in the present dissertation – seems to serve a similar function as LGBT activism. By demanding legal change, it confronts sexual stigma on the institutional level. At the same time, it may lower internalized stigma both among minority and majority members. Specifically, open displays of acceptance for sexual and gender minorities as well as public opposition to heteronormative hierarchy – the inherent elements of solidarity-based collective action – may reduce self-loathing among LGBT individuals and motivate them to fight for their rights (see Techakesari, Droogendyk, Louis, Wright, & Barlow, 2017). Furthermore, out-group allies may be especially efficient in diminishing prejudice among the unengaged members of heterosexual/cisgender majority (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). On the other hand, lack of engagement in solidarity with LGBT people is equivalent to the acceptance of sexual stigma entrenched in institutions and individual attitudes.

While LGBT activism and solidarity-based engagement challenge the inferior status of sexual and gender minorities, collective action intended to limit the rights of LGBT people may be conceived as a case of enacted sexual stigma. As we show in Chapter 5, there are good reasons to believe that anti-LGBT engagement originates from viewing homosexuality as sinful and pathological. Moreover, collective action intended to restrict the rights of sexual and gender minorities may perpetuate and strengthen institutional stigma. If successful, it may lead to further disenfranchisement of LGBT individuals, and, as such, deepen intergroup power differentials in a given society. Furthermore, by conveying critical view of homosexuality, collective action against LGBT rights may enhance internalized stigma among LGBT individuals and increase sexual prejudice among "silent majority" members –

the numerous group of "those who are neither in the position of authority nor minority" (Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008, p. 331). It should be noted, however, that refraining from anti-LGBT collective action does not mean that a given person opposes sexual stigma. In the case of activism directed at limiting LGBT rights, inaction suggests merely that a passive individual does not wish the institutional stigmatization to intensify.

In conclusion, we believe that sexual stigma conceptual framework provides proper theoretical scaffolding for our research programme. Throughout the remaining chapters, we regularly refer to its propositions and employ its essential concepts, such as institutional stigma, internalized stigma or sexual prejudice. Additionaly, we propose some conceptual refinements to establish a more solid bridge between Herek's ideas and collective action related to LGBT rights. We do so in the next three chapters, which describe in detail the potential antecedents of 1) collective action undertaken by LGBT individuals to benefit their in-group (Chapter 3), 2) collective action of heterosexual/cisgender individuals in solidarity with LGBT people (Chapter 4), and 3) collective action of heterosexual/cisgender individuals to limit the rights of LGBT people (Chapter 5). In each of these chapters, we differentiate between micro-, meso-, and macro-level sources of activism. At the same time, we formulate a range of hypotheses that not only link collective action to its potential antecedents, but also reflect the complex network of relationships between particular predictors of engagement.

CHAPTER 3[9]

LGBT MINORITY COLLECTIVE ACTION

Collective action model of social change – one of the two competing perspectives on social change in social psychology – assumes that equality is achieved by the mass mobilization of the disadvantaged groups that, having developed the critical type of collective consciousness, openly question the status quo and gradually force power-holders to share their resources and privileges (Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012; Wright & Baray, 2012; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). According to this model, this is after the initial action by the subordinated groups when silent majority members join the struggle for equality or the countermovement of historically advantaged groups emerges. Over the course of history, such a sequence could be observed in numerous contexts (see Dixon et al., 2012). It was also the case for sexual and gender minorities whose fight for equality is most often traced back to 1969 Stonewall Riots – a series of violent demonstrations sparked by the brutal police intervention in a Greenwhich Village gay bar (Eaklor, 2008). These events, regarded by some as "the first time that large numbers of gay people stood up against repression" (Stanley,

[9] In this and the two following chapters, we formulate a range of hypotheses concerning the sources of collective action related to LGBT rights. However, not all relationships we propose in Chapters 3-5 could be tested in Chapters 6-11. For example, we were not able to check if institutional stigma on the country level translates into collective action in solidarity with LGBT people. This was because publicly-available comparative surveys we know about do not include questions on engagement in support of LGBT rights. To differentiate between currently testable and untestable hypotheses in the text, we mark the former with letter H and consecutive numbers (for a complete list of testable hypotheses, see Chapter 12).

1970, p. 1), marked the beginnings of the American LGBT social movement (Armstrong & Cage, 2006), which then spread worldwide.

From a global perspective, the five decades of struggle for equality have witnessed considerable victories of LGBT activism. Starting from the removal of homosexuality from the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* in 1973, through the introduction of anti-discrimination law to the institutionalization of marriage equality, the efforts of LGBT rights movement brought the improvement in the position of sexual and gender minorities in many parts of the world. However, the long list of successes does not mean that LGBT activism has lost its raison d'être. Despite the onging change in the social perception of sexual and gender minorities, LGBT individuals still attract immense prejudice (Górska, 2018; Górska & Mikołajczak, 2015) and become the targets of hate crime (Górska et al., 2016; Herek & Berrill, 1992). In terms of legal arrangements, discriminatory regulations have not been obliterated completely even in, theoretically, the most liberal Western countries, not to mention their developing counterparts (Carroll & Mendes, 2017). Thus, LGBT activism sill has multiple reasons to exist. Since any social movement could not exist without its members, it is crucial then to understand what factors make LGBT individuals abandon their daily routines and engage on behalf of their in-group.

Collective action performed by LGBT individuals has already attracted attention of social psychologists. The literature abounds with studies demonstrating micro-level origins of such engagement (e.g., Górska & Bilewicz, 2015; Reimer et al., 2017; Simon et al., 1998; Stürmer & Simon, 2004). At the same time, past research has overlooked the fact that LGBT activism may be shaped by the factors located at higher levels of analysis. Consequently, it has not been recognized that micro-, meso-, and macro-level antecedents of such engagement may be interconnected, creating a complex web of unidirectional and bidirectional relationships.

The present dissertation aims to fill this gap. Below, moving from proximal to distal antecedents of engagement, we present micro-, meso-, and macro-level factors that may affect collective action taken by LGBT individuals. Also, we specify relationships that may link various sources of LGBT activism. By doing so, we lay theoretical groundwork for the studies presented in Chapters 6-8.

3.1. Micro-level factors

Although rather silent about meso- and macro-level antecedents of engagement, social-psychological accounts provide valuable insights on the micro-level sources of LGBT activism. Taking collective action has been linked, among others, to prior victimization (Friedman & Leaper, 2010), access to resources (Rollins & Hirsch, 2003), contact with heterosexuals (Reimer et al., 2017), or relative deprivation (Górska & Bilewicz, 2015). In the following sections we present three factors that, in our opinion, are crucial for predicting engagement of LGBT people: in-group identification, internalized stigma, and network embeddedness.

3.1.1. In-group identification

Both activists (see Bernstein, 2005) as well as collective action researchers (e.g., Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Thomas, Mavor, & McGarty, 2012; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008) have recognized that group identity constitutes the central prerequisite of engagement. As noted explicitely by Wright and Tropp (2002, p. 204): "[I]n order to engage in collective action the individual must recognize his or her membership in the relevant group." An individual's self-representation as a group member depends, among others (see Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), on in-group identification – the degree to which one attaches importance and emotional value to a specific group membership

(Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997). In comparison to low identifiers, high identifiers are more strongly inclined to perceive themselves and social reality through the lens of particular group memberships. As such, they are more likely to engage on behalf of their in-groups when this becomes necessary (Wright & Tropp, 2002). Based on this, it is legitimate to expect that LGBT in-group identification would increase collective action among the members of sexual and gender minorities (H1).

Prior research provides strong evidence for the link between in-group identification and collective action participation. A meta-analysis by van Zomeren, Postmes & Spears (2008) revealed that in-group identification not only propels collective action directly, but also enhances other predictors of engagement, such as injustice perception and group efficacy.[10] Furthermore, besides facilitating active response to collective disadvantage, in-group identification provides protection against factors that could undermine engagement such as superordinate category salience (Crisp, Stone, & Hall, 2006).

The close relationship between in-group identification and collective action has received empirical support also in LGBT contexts. For example, Friedman and Leaper (2010) showed that sexual minority women who developed stronger sexual orientation identity reported higher commitment to the LGBTQ[11] collective, which occurred independently from other potentially relevant factors such as discrimination experience or social support. Similar results were obtained in our past research (Górska & Bilewicz, 2015). Specifically, LGBT individuals' in-group identification exerted a positive effect on support for social change even when group relative deprivation and in-group pride were controlled for (see also Harris & Battle, 2013; Reimer et al., 2017, Study 1a). Furthermore, prior research provides strong

[10] However, the reverse causal flow is also possible (see Thomas, Mavor, & McGarty, 2012; Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009).

[11] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer.

support for the association between collective action and politicized LGBT identity, defined as identification with the LGBT rights movement (see Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Homosexuals' activist identity was shown to positively predict a range of collective action behaviors, such as protest attendance (Swank & Fahs, 2013a, 2016), petition signing or civil disobedience (Swank & Fahs, 2013a).[12] Valuable longitudinal evidence was delivered by Stürmer and Simon (2004). In their longitudinal study, German gay men identification with a gay SMO increased collective action over time even when the initial level of participants' engagement was controlled for (see also Simon et al., 1998).

3.1.2. Internalized stigma

While there are good reasons to assume that in-group identification would inspire collective action among LGBT individuals, members of this group may face numerous obstacles on their way to engagement. One of such barriers is posed by internalized stigma.

There are two reasons to expect that internalized stigma would diminish collective action of LGBT individuals (H2). First, self-stigmatization implies viewing in-group's inferior position as just and well deserved. As such, it constitutes the exact opposite of inequality recognition – a well-established catalyst of engagement (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Importantly, perceiving the in-group's disadvantage as legitimate may elicit emotions that seem hardly conducive to activism. Specifically, rather than feeling anger at unjust systemic arrangements – a powerful source of collective action (e.g., Tausch et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2004) – LGBT individuals high in internalized stigma are more likely to feel deactivating emotions such as sadness (Newcomb & Mustanski, 2010).

[12] The effects of activist identity reported by Swank and Fahs (2013a) were significant for gay men but not for lesbian women.

Second, internalized stigma may mitigate collective action by decreasing in-group identification (H3). Ample evidence shows that low-status groups' members exhibit less in-group favouritism compared to the representatives of high-status groups (Ellemers, van Knippenberg, de Vries, & Wilke, 1988; Jost & Burgess, 2000). This difference is well explained by system justification motive – a tendency to legitimize, defend and bolster the status quo (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Because of this motive, low-status group members may adopt (*internalize*) hierarchy-enhancing ideologies, which posit intergroup status differentials as legitimate (see Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). Since legitimizing myths create a negative image of the groups located on the bottom of the social hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), disadvantaged individuals may distance themselves from their low-status in-groups (see Bettencourt, Charlton, Dorr, & Hume, 2001; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). Such distancing, in turn, may promote individual strategies of coping with in-group's disadvantage (see Ellemers et al., 1997).

Similar to other low-status groups that accept the disadvantageous hierarchies and hierarchy enhancing legitimizing myths, LGBT individuals may perceive heterosexist social arrangements as fair and internalize the ideology on which this order is founded (see Pacilli, Taurino, Jost, & van der Toorn, 2011). Because of deeply entrenched legitimization of heterosexist hierarchy, internalized sexual stigma should lead to lower ingroup identification among LGBT individuals. Indeed, prior research involving sexual minorities revealed the negative association between self-stigmatization and in-group identification (Frost & Meyer, 2009; Herek et al., 2009). The low degree of in-group identification may, in turn, diminish the willingness to fight for LGBT rights.

3.1.3. Network embeddedness

Contrary to the implicit assumption in social and political psychology (see van Zomeren, 2016), the antecedents of collective action are not limited to internal states. Political science and sociology literatures suggest that protest participation originates from extra-individual circumstances that act upon a given person. One of such factors is embeddedness in a protest network, which is also known as structural availability (e.g. Schussman & Soule, 2005)[13].

Analogical to the diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 1962), protest mobilization is believed to occur in interpersonal networks (Kitts, 2000; Knoke, 1990; Lim, 2008; Verba, Schlozmann, & Brady, 1995). There is plenty of work showing that network embeddednes – knowing already engaged individuals – increases the likelihood of collective action (e.g., Andretta, & della Porta, 2014; Klandermans, van der Toorn, & van Stekelenburg, 2008; Schussman, & Soule, 2005). Importantly, the positive link between structural availability and engagement has also been revealed for LGBT individuals. For example, belonging to organized LG groups was shown to predict engagement in demonstrations on behalf of gay

[13] Following the common assumption that structural factors are by definition bounded to the meso- and macro-level of analysis, one may question classifying network embeddedness – clearly a structural property – as a micro-level factor. We believe, however, that actor's place in a given network (operationalized as a number of ties a given actor has, which is the case in the present dissertation) should be distinguished from the features of a network as a whole (e.g. density or clustering). While the former constitutes the property of individuals (in other words, is a micro-level factor), the latter characterizes communities (is a meso-level factor). Importantly, two different analytical approaches within social network research – ego network analysis and complete network analysis, respectively (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2018) – echo this distinction.

and lesbian rights (Swank & Fahs, 2016). Another study showed positive correlation between the membership in an LGB group and electoral activism, defined as voting, signing petitions and lobbying on the behalf of gay and lesbian rights (Swank & Fahs, 2013b). Lewis, Rogers and Sherrill (2011) revealed that social involvement in LGB community was a positive predictor of LGB activism. Similar results were obtained by Swank, Woodford and Lim (2013), who showed that sexual minority students having LGBT friends were more likely to sign a pro-LGBT petition. Finally, transgender individuals who had a larger network of people with whom they discussed crossdressing or transsexualism issues were found to attend more political events aimed to promote transgender interests in the society (Lombardi, 1999). In the light of these results, we expect that LGBT individuals embedded in an LGBT protest network would manifest stronger engagement than their isolated counterparts (H4).

Why should network embeddedness promote collective action? Potential explanations fall into two classes of mechanisms. One of them relates to the purely structural aspect of protest networks (Passy & Monsch, 2014). Like rumors or job offers (Granovetter, 1973), protest-relevant information may spread along the relational ties between individuals. Knowing already engaged people, a prospective protester is more likely to learn the necessary logistic details, such as the time and place of the upcoming event (Fisher & Boekkooi, 2010; Oegema and Klandermans, 1994). Disseminating information through social networks may be especially pronounced in the repressive regimes, where due to the limited freedom of speech, SMOs cannot reach their constituencies through other channels, such as the press or the Internet (Passy, 2003; Passy & Monsch, 2014). Furthermore, structural availability lays the groundwork for being explicitly asked to join a collective action event. Past research revealed that receiving a participation request from an already-engaged acquaintance translates into a higher probability of protest engagement (Schussman & Soule, 2005). As hypothesized,

targeted individuals tend to accept such invitations to maintain valued relationships with the inviters (Walgrave, & Wouters, 2014).

On the other hand, protest networks may stimulate engagement by shaping the cognitive toolkit of prospective participants (Passy & Monsch, 2014). As argued in sociological theory (e.g., Berger, & Luckmann, 1967; Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1982), people develop, maintain and negotiate meanings in the course of daily face-to-face interactions. Consequently, the beliefs of a given person are dependent upon interaction partners. Thus, establishing ties with activists should change the way an individual perceives the world and affect the psychological antecedents of collective action mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

Research in sociology suggests that social networks serve as an important vehicle of cognitive liberation (Fernandez & McAdam, 1988; Nepstad, 1997). Conversations with fellow protesters convey new systems of meanings and provide novel interpretative frames to make sense of the surrounding reality (Benford, & Snow, 2000; Gamson, 1992; Snow, & Benford, 1988, 1992). By pinpointing the shortcomings and injustices of the status quo, narratives constructed within activist networks question and subsequently supplant the dominant ideology. Notably, since protest networks have the potential to meet people's affiliative needs, protesters may start and maintain valued interpersonal relationships within a social movement; abandoning the dominant ideology does not have to entail the typical drawbacks of challenging the status quo, such as social exclusion (Jost, Ledgerwood, & Hardin, 2008). Relationships with other like-minded protesters may fill the void left by the acquaintances who do not share the new vision of reality adopted by a given person.

In the case of LGBT individuals, cognitive change fuelled by a protest network would be tantamount to the rejection of sexual stigma. As noted before, sexual minorities learn and internalize the inferior in-group status implied by the dominant, heterosexist ideology (Jost,

Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). Self-stigmatization is especially strong among individuals who exhibit high motivation to legitimize and perpetuate the existing social arrangements (Bahamondes-Correa, 2016; Pacilli et al., 2011). Since the LGBT social movement actively counteracts the heterosexism engrained in culture and social institutions, interactions with its members create an opportunity to diminish one's self-devaluation because of sexual orientation or gender identity (Britt, & Heise, 2000). Thus, by the means of secondary socialization, stronger embeddedness in an activist network may reduce internalized sexual stigma – a serious obstacle on the way to one's collective action.

Furthermore, cognitive transformation elicited by discussions within a protest network may result in the enforcement of collective identities, which as noted before constitute the central antecedent of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Two forms of this process are conceivable. First, entering an activist network may enhance in-group identities. This is the case for the members of devalued social categories (such as LGBT people who), may abandon internalized stigma in the course of interactions with already engaged individuals. Since internalized stigma prevents identification with one's denigrated in-group (Frost & Meyer, 2009; Herek et al., 2009), its removal may entail the development of strong in-group attachment (Britt & Heisse, 2000).

Second, personal relationships within an activist network may prompt the growth of *politicized identity* – a form of collective identity that shows especially close relationship with engagement (van Zomeren et al., 2008). As conceptualized by Simon and Klandermans (2001), politicized identity involves three critical elements: shared grievances recognition, external blame attribution, and societal context awareness. These ingredients are established consecutively in a process of collective identity politicization, which transforms general in-

group identity into its politicized mode.[14] Activist networks seem to provide a suitable environment for each of these stages to unfold. Specifically, network embeddedness may operate by delivering interpretative frames that address the ingredients of politicized identity. For example, diagnostic frames (one of several types of interpretative frames provided by social movements) identify injustice, point to the agents responsible for in-group's predicament and delineate boundaries between different social actors (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gamson, 1992), matching the three stages of politicization, respectively.

In line with this reasoning, past research shows that positive relationship between group discussion (which is likely to occur within activist networks) and engagement may be accounted for by in-group identification. For instance, recent experimental evidence (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2016) suggests that focused group interaction increases collective action by enhancing opinion-based group identification, an intermediate form of collective identity between category-based identification and politicized identity (Bliuc, McGarty, Reynolds, & Muntele, 2007). Studies performed in LGBT context also suggest the intervening role of in-group identification. For example, Swank and Fahs (2016) showed that the positive effect of LG group membership on protesting for gay and lesbian rights decreased when psychological variables (e.g., activist identity) were introduced into the regression equation. Importantly, activist identity proved to exert a strong positive effect on collective action (for similar results, see Swank et al., 2013).[15] The intervening character of in-group identification is also

[14] As noted by Simon and Klandermans (2001), politicization bears a resemblance to the Marxian transition from "class in itself" to "class for itself" (Marx, 1847/1976).

[15] Although the regression results reported by Swank and colleagues (Swank & Fahs, 2016; Swank et al., 2013) suggest that some forms of collective identity mediate the positive relationship between network embeddedness and collective action, mediation effects were not formally tested.

highlighted by qualitative research. For example, a series of interviews carried out by DiFulvio (2011) showed that social connectedness allowed LGBT youth to develop positive collective identity and take action against the heteronormative order. Thus, it is legitimate to expect that network embeddedness would increase LGBT individuals' collective action by strengthening their in-group identification (H5).

3.2. Meso-level factors

So far, we have discussed personal factors that may enhance or diminish collective action of LGBT individuals. As *individual* qualities, internalized stigma, in-group identification and network embeddedness have attracted at least some interest of social psychologists. In this section, we move to properties of *communities* that may stimulate individual LGBT activism – an area that has received limited attention in collective action literature. We propose that one of such factors is the presence of local LGBT SMOs.

3.2.1. Pro-LGBT social movement organizations

Social movement organizations constitute the supply-side of participation; they satisfy the demand for protest in a given community and promote sustained engagement of individual protesters. As noted by Klandermans (2004), without efficient SMOs, social discontent has little chance to instigate a profound social change. In other words, the basic function of SMOs relies on transforming unspecific dissatisfaction with the status quo into purposeful political behaviour.

Political scientists and sociologists have put great efforts into studying the organizational aspect of protest behaviour (e.g., Fisher, Stanley, Berman, & Neff, 2005, Zald & Ash, 1966). The majority of studies performed in these fields do not reach beyond the meso-level of analysis, treating SMOs either as the basic units of analysis or as the property

of territorial entities such as regions or states. The typical questions asked by researchers concern the link between SMOs and policies implementation (e.g., Andrews, 2001), the way SMOs cooperate and compete with each other (e.g., Staggenborg, 1986) or the properties an SMO needs to succeed (e.g., Johnson, 2008). On the other hand, social-psychological treatment of SMOs seems to be limited to the level of individuals. In this discipline, the explanatory potential of SMOs has been implied in the concept of politicized identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001), which is usually assessed as identification with a social movement or a protest organization (e.g., van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2012).

What seems to be missing in collective action literature is the empirical link between individual protest behaviour and SMOs considered as the context property (for an exception see Martinez, 2008). This may be a serious neglect, as the objective presence of SMOs in the close environment is likely to instigate individual activism *regardless of* personal qualities as well as *through* changing these qualities. For example, a person who strongly identifies with a given social movement may have low collective action opportunities in the context where SMOs are absent. On the other hand, even low-identifiers may join collective action events if these events are arranged by a local SMO. Furthermore, SMOs may encourage engagement of community members by changing the way the latter perceive social reality. Therefore, in the present dissertation, we conceptualize SMOs as a meso-level factor that may affect individual collective action.

We propose that LGBT SMOs facilitate collective action of sexual and gender minorities (H6). There are two reasons to expect this relationship. First, past research revealed that members of minority groups exhibit stronger engagement in communities with a higher number of minority-based SMOs (Martinez, 2008). Second, a positive link between LGBT SMOs and collective action of LGBT individuals may be derived from minority stress theory (Meyer, 2003). In this perspective, LGBT SMOs are conceptualized as an element of

community-level resilience – collective resources that enable individuals to survive and thrive despite of adversities (Meyer, 2015; see also de Lira & de Morais, 2017; Kwon, 2013). Distinct from individual-level resilience, which refers to personal qualities (e.g. self-efficacy), community-level reselience contributes to the development of coping mechanisms that mitigate the negative consequences of minority stress. Since collective action may be considered one of such mechanisms (de Lira & de Morais, 2017; DeBlaere et al., 2014; DiFulvio, 2011), LGBT SMOs should entail higher engagement of sexual and gender minorities' members.

In terms of intervening mechanisms, the positive effect of LGBT SMOs on individual engagement may follow several distinct routes. The most apparent path involves making protest behaviour accessible. By creating collective action events, SMOs substantially lower the threshold of protest involvement. For example, signing an online petition intended to influence the decision-makers requires less effort than writing a similar letter oneself. Likewise, when offline forms of engagement (e.g., demonstrations, marches or sit-ins) are available in close proximity, prospective protesters no longer have to expend their personal resources to join a collective action event (Holman & Oswald, 2011). Thus, we expect that local LGBT SMOs may promote engagement directly, as they create collective action opportunities.

Second, LGBT SMOs may help in establishing protest networks that would further lead to collective action directly (H7) and by enhancing psychological antecedents of engagement such as in-group identification (H8). As maintained in the literature (e.g., Klandermans, 2004) SMOs play a significant role in fostering structural availability – a circumstance that is reflected in some operationalizations of network embeddedness.[16]

[16] Network embeddedness is sometimes operationalized as an SMO membership (e.g. Schussman & Soule, 2005)

Regular collective action events have the potential to forge relationships between their participants and heighten the number of politically active individuals in a given community. This increase should be reflected in the social networks of community members – when the number of local activists gets highger, the probability of knowing one also rises. Importantly, engaged individuals may ask their uninvolved friends and acquaintances to join a collective action event, which as outlined before is a powerful predictor of participation. This mechanism has been long recognized by the organizations themselves – to mobilize sympathizers or sustain the commitment of their members SMOs use their social networks (Klandermans, 1984, 2004). As such, protest networks provide a bridge between a structural meso-level factor (SMOs) and individual properties (collective action and its psychological antecedents), which conforms to the general postulates of social networks theory (e.g., Granovetter, 1973; Passy, 2003).

Third, by promoting an affirmative view of sexual minorities (e.g., Britt & Heise, 2000; Taylor & Whitter, 1992), LGBT SMOs may contribute to the development of positive in-group identity (H9), which may further increase engagement (H10). It should be noted that this effect bypasses network embeddedness and implies the direct relationship between LGBT SMOs and a cognitive toolkit of prospective protesters. As indicated in the literature (e.g., Klandermans, 2004), SMOs serve as the carriers of meaning. In the process of framing (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow & Benford, 1988, 1992) or consensus mobilization (Klandermans, 1984), they draw public attention to certain problems, provide solutions and seek to mobilize individual sympathizers. For example, a local environmental organization may highlight the poor quality of air in a given city (problem definition), recommend a traffic ban (solution) and encourage pressure on the municipal authorities to impose such a ban (mobilization). In this vein, SMOs would promote protest behaviour by changing its proximal antecedents, such as injustice perception (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Importantly, as long as

the ideas disseminated by a given SMO contradict the dominant ideology, they may be the source of cognitive liberation. As noted before, rejection of legitimizing myths may result with developing positive in-group attitudes among the members of low-status grups. Thus, the affirmative perspective on sexual and gender minorities conveyed by, for example, pride parades is likely to translate into stronger in-group identification even among LGBT individuals who do not know any activist in person.

3.3. Macro-level factors

Collective action literature suggests that individual protest behaviour may be at least partially explained by the properties of large-scale units such as states, societies or cultures (see van Zomeren & Louis, 2017). For instance, comparative studies demonstrate consistently that democracies encourage stronger engagement than authoritarian and hybrid regimes (Cichocka et al., 2017; Corcoran, Pettinicchio, & Young, 2011). It is legitimate to expect that also LGBT activism would be shaped by macro-level phenomena. The following paragraphs discuss the role of *institutional stigma* – the degree to which the inferior status of sexual and gender minorities is entrenched in the realm of law (Herek, 2004, 2007, 2009).

3.3.1. Legal regulations

As hinted in Chapter 2, institutional sexual stigma was shown to affect experiences and behaviors of LGBT individuals. The consequences of discriminatory legal regulations include, among others, mood disorders (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2009), alcohol use (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2010) and self-directed violence (Blosnich et al., 2016). We propose that another area affected by heterosexist legal arrangements is LGBT activism.

There are two reasons to expect that institutional stigma would inhibit collective action of sexual and gender minorities (H11). The first argument comes from sociology and political

science. Political opportunity structure perspective (POS; Meyer, 2004), posits that institutional setting is vital for social movements' development. While political systems characterized by inclusiveness promote popular civic engagement, closed regimes with strong concentration of power hamper protest behaviour (for empirical evidence, see Corcoran et al., 2011). Therefore, since institutional stigma perpetuates power differences between heterosexual/cisgender majority and LGBT individuals, it may diminish collective action of sexual and gender minorities.

Second, heterosexist legal regulations may pacify LGBT activism by fostering the development of internalized stigma (H12). Since people are motivated to legitimize, defend, and bolster the systems they reside in (Jost & Banaji, 1994), adherence to heterosexist status quo may "get under the skin" (Hatzenbuehler, 2010) as a result of general system justification mechanisms. As such, LGBT individuals living in countries with the high degree of institutional stigma may exhibit stronger self-stigmatization (for empirical evidence, see Berg, Ross, Weatherburn, & Schmidt, 2013), which as we have noted (section 3.1.2) is likely to thwart protest behaviour. Furthermore, since we hypothesize that internalized stigma diminishes engagement directly as well as by lowering in-group identification, one another mechanism behind the 'sedative' (see Cakal, Hewstone, Schwär, & Heath, 2011) effects of institutional stigma may be indicated. Specifically, discriminatory legal regulations may limit LGBT activism by promoting internalized stigma and lowering in-group identification consecutively (H13).

3.4. Summary

The aim of this chapter was to identify factors and processes that lead to collective action among sexual and gender minorities. Table 1 presents the potential predictors of LGBT activism divided by type and the level of analysis. As such, it fills in the left upper quadrant of

Figure 1. The 13 hypotheses we formulated in this chapter were verified across three studies presented in Chapters 6-8.

Table 1

Antecedents of LGBT activism divided by type and the level of analysis

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	ANTECEDENT'S TYPE	
	STRUCTURAL	PSYCHOLOGICAL
MICRO	Network embeddedness	Internalized homophobia In-group identification
MESO	SMOs	
MACRO	Institutional stigma	

CHAPTER 4

HETEROSEXUAL/CISGENDER INDIVIDUAL'S COLLECTIVE ACTION IN SUPPORT OF LGBT RIGHTS

The actions of a disadvantaged group alone are usually insufficient to bring about extensive social change. What seems necessary to successfully challenge the status quo is the support of the silent majority – those who do not belong either to the authority or the minority (Subašić et al., 2008). As proposed in some theoretical perspectives (e.g., Mugny, 1982; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Subašić et al., 2008), the hearts and minds of the general audience are a valuable resource for which numerous social actors compete. This is the result of this competition that decides whether the intergroup power relations would endure or alter. If the authority convinces the society at large that the minority members pose a threat to the existing order, the status quo would be conserved. By contrast, if the disadvantaged group manages to persuade the general audience that the authority violates the values cherished by majority members, social change is possible.

Importantly, majority members may show considerable diversity regarding their attitudes toward intergroup hierarchy (Subašić et al., 2008). Some of them may express negative views toward the disadvantaged (as discussed in Chapter 5). Others may be critical of both the authority and minority positions. Yet, there would be those sympathizing with the disadvantaged group but still following the lead of the authority. Finally, some majority members would support the minority and actively question the rules imposed by the authority. In the present chapter, we focus on allies – the members of dominant groups who recognize the illegitimacy of power relations and challenge oppression of the disadvantaged by endorsing the oppressed populations (Roades & Mio, 2000; Washington & Evans, 1991).

The history of emancipation movements provides numerous examples of advantaged groups' members acting in solidarity with the low-status groups. For example, Whites used to march alongside African Americans in the struggle for Civil Rights (Brown, 2002) and currently some of them engage in the Black Lives Matter movement (Blay, 2016; Selvanathan, Techakesari, Barlow, & Tropp, 2017). At the same time, the feminist agenda has attracted male supporters since the 19th century (e.g. Mill, 1869). Most recently, developed countries' residents have been contributing to the global justice movement against the exploitation of the developing nations (della Porta, 2007). The variety of contexts in which privileged individuals engage in the fight for equality suggests that dominant-group allies play a prominent role in initiating and maintaining social change.

Four reasons why this is the case can be indicated. First, the general audience may be more susceptible to the messages conveyed by the high-status allies than the disadvantaged group members. Unengaged observers hold negative views of activists – those who actively seek for social change are stereotyped as militant and eccentric (Bashir, Lockwood, Chasteen, Nadolny, & Noyes, 2013). This type of social disapproval is especially strong in the case of minority targets. As shown by a number of studies, disadvantaged group members who challenge unequal power relations are perceived as cold, hypersensitive, overly demanding or even paranoid (for a review, see Becker, Zawadzki, & Shields, 2014), which provides an excuse to dismiss their claims for equality. Thus, challenging inequalities by a high-status ally may be a more effective way to change the beliefs and emotions of the silent majority. Indeed, past studies revealed that advantaged group members who, despite their group interest, confront discrimination of the disadvantaged are more persuasive than their minority counterparts who speak up for themselves (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010).

Second, dominant group allies may serve as the role models and source of support to other majority members willing to act for social change toward equality. Although the advantaged group members pay lower interpersonal price for confronting injustice than the disadvantaged, they also experience internal and interpersonal conflicts, isolation or ridiculing due to questioning the status quo. Facing such obstacles, dominant group allies may seek support and mentorship from other majority members who actively advocate for the disadvantaged group (Smith, & Redington, 2010).

Third, as long as they openly condemn intergroup hierarchy, dominant group allies may also encourage engagement of low-status group members. Such an effect was revealed in the recent studies concerning supportive contact – "positive cross-group contact in which the advantaged group member explicitly communicates opposition to inequality and/or support for the disadvantaged group and their goals" (Droogendyk, Wright, Lubensky, & Louis, 2016, p. 318). Experiments conducted across the variety of contexts demonstrated that supportive contact increases disadvantaged group members' engagement intentions by enhancing their in-group identification (Techakesari et al., 2017) and injustice perception (Droogendyk, Louis, & Wright, 2016). It should be noted that these findings contradict the earlier belief that positive relations with high-status individuals suppress rather than invite collective action of minority members (e.g. Dixon et al., 2012; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009). Furthermore, based on its underlying mechanisms, one may expect that the mobilizing effect of supportive contact would be especially pronounced for the individuals who are not engaged in collective action on behalf of their disadvantaged in-group. As noticed by Droogendyk, Wright and colleagues (2016), in contrast to activists, nonactivists manifest a low level of in-group identification and pay little attention to intergroup power imbalance. The open recognition of injustice by a dominant group representative may encourage such low-status

group members to develop stronger attachment to their in-group and engage in collective action on its behalf.

Finally, dominant-group allies may contribute to social justice movements by providing their psychological, political, and material resources. In comparison to the disadvantaged, high-status group members have greater assets to act upon their attitudes (Iyer & Leach, 2009). Specifically, they do not have to cope with the devastating effects of minority stress (Meyer, 1995, 2003), have stronger impact on the decision-makers (Subašić et al., 2008) and more often enjoy financial stability needed for sustained engagement (see Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995). Taken together, all these features of out-group allies dramatically increase the impact of any social movement formed by the disadvantaged.

The LGBT rights movement has acknowledged the importance of dominant group allies. Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) – the first and the largest straight ally organization worldwide – was founded in the early 1970s and then spread to other countries (Fehlbaum, 2016)[17]. Originally, the organization aimed to build a bridge between homosexual and heterosexual communities as well as provide a safe haven for the families of lesbian women and gay men. Later on, it expanded its scope to include friends and families of bisexual and transgender individuals as well as heterosexual/cisgender allies with no personal connections to LGBT community. As far as the actions of PFLAG are concerned, the emphasis has shifted from providing support to homosexuals' family members – a group often stigmatized by association (Goffman, 1963) – to educational actions and LGBT advocacy.

[17] Similar grassroots organizations exist in the Polish context as well. For example, the Academy of Engaged Parents gathers parents of LGBT individuals to exchange their experiences and provide mutual support (KPH, 2018).

Nowadays, organizations fighting for the rights of LGBT people put great efforts into involving heterosexual/cisgender individuals in their actions, such as marches, public awareness campaigns or gay-straight alliances at schools and universities. Straight/cisgender allies provide a powerful voice in the public debate on equality. As such, it is important to delineate the precise conditions that foster engagement on behalf of LGBT people. In the remaining part of this chapter, we consider micro-, meso-, and macro-level factors that may explain why heterosexual/cisgender individuals join collective action in solidarity with sexual and gender minorities.

4.1. Micro-level factors

Although social psychologists focus predominantly on collective action of the disadvantaged, recent years witnessed a growth of interest in the collective action by dominant groups' members to benefit the low-status groups (see Becker & Tausch, 2015). Collective action on behalf of others has been demonstrated to depend on a range of circumstances, such as intergroup contact (Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017), outgroup-directed attitudes (Cichocka et al., 2017; Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006), group-based anger (Leach et al., 2006; Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008; Selvanathan et al., 2017; Saab, Tausch, Spears, & Cheung, 2015; van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, & Bettache, 2011), politicized identity (Reimer et al., 2017), empathy (Mallett et al., 2008; Selvanathan et al., 2017), moral convictions (van Zomeren et al., 2011), injustice perception (Saab et al., 2015) and group efficacy (Saab et al., 2015; van Zomeren et al., 2011). In this section, we indicate four micro-level factors – politicized identity, modern sexual prejudice, intergroup contact, and network embeddedness – that seem crucial for heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action to improve the legal status of LGBT people. As in Chapter 3, we

start from the most proximal predictors of engagement and move toward its increasingly distal antecedents.

4.1.1. Pro-LGBT politicized identity

We have already noted that collective identity serves as a key predictor of collective action on behalf of one's in-group (van Zomeren et al., 2008). As shown by previous research, some kind of group identity is also necessary when solidarity-based engagement is concerned. Specifically, to act in solidarity with an out-group, prospective protesters have to develop at least one of three distinct types of social identity. First, dominant group allies may identify with the disadvantaged out-group itself. For example, stronger solidarity with the Arab people among the representatives of 12 bystander nations was demonstrated to translate into higher willingness to join a protest in support of the Arab uprisings (Stewart et al., 2016). Second, high-status group members may take solidarity-based collective action due to their opinion-based group identity, which refers to identification with the like-minded others (Bliuc et al., 2007). As shown recently (Thomas, McGarty, Reese et al., 2016), Australian citizens who developed the humanitarian opinion-based group identification were more likely to behaviourally confront global poverty than their weakly identified counterparts. Finally, engagement of high-status group allies may stem from their identification with a specific social movement. For instance, strong identification with the women's rights movement was revealed to increase men's willingness to engage in collective action against gender inequalities (Wiley, Srinivasan, Finke, Firnhaber, & Shilinsky, 2012). In our research, we focus on the latter type of identification, which the literature terms 'politicized identity' (Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

We propose that identification with the LGBT rights movement increases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action in solidarity with sexual and gender

minorities (H14). As argued by Simon and Klandermans (2001), once people develop commitment to a social movement of any kind, they adopt a worldview promoted by this movement. The constitutive elements of this worldview – grievances recognition, external blame attribution, and societal context awareness (Simon & Klandermans, 2001) – posit collective action as a logical next step for the high-identifiers to take. Importantly, this kind of action readiness is not implied by other identities relevant to solidarity-based engagement; in contrast to politicized identity, out-group and opinion-based group identification do not necessarily mean that a person recognizes injustice, knows who the enemy is or appreciates political constraints. This discrepancy is reflected in the results of van Zomeren and colleagues' (2008) oft-cited meta-analysis: in comparison to identification with broader recruitment categories, politicized identity shows stronger association with collective action.

Prior research provides support for the positive relationship between straight/cisgender allies' politicized identity and their engagement on behalf of LGBT people. For example, in a study conducted by Reimer and colleagues (2017, Study 1b) heterosexuals who identified more strongly with a solidarity-based social movement reported higher intentions to advocate for LGB rights and were more willing to act against LGB discrimination. Notably, movement identification outperformed other relevant factors (i.e., positive and negative intergroup contact, outgroup's perceived discrimination and outgroup-directed attitudes) as a predictor of engagement, which points to its proximal character as the catalyst of solidarity-based activism. Consistent with these results, several studies revealed that pro-LGBT collective action correlates positively with LGBT ally identification (e.g., Jones, Brewster, & Jones, 2014; Smith, 2011; Wilkinson & Sangarin, 2010).

4.1.2. Modern homonegativity

Past evidence suggests that solidarity-based collective action may stem from positive attitudes toward the relevant out-group (Leach et al., 2006; Stewart, 2017). For example, Poles holding more favourable attitudes toward Ukrainians declared higher willingness to join a demonstration against 2014 Russia's invasion in Ukraine (Cichocka et al., 2017). Past literature, however, seems to ignore the fact, that outgroup-directed attitudes may take numerous, qualitatively different forms. For instance, one of the widely applied typologies distinguishes between old-fashioned (traditional, classic) and modern (contemporary) prejudice (Brown, 2011). This distinction was introduced to describe racial relations in the United States (McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988), and then employed in other intergroup contexts, such as ethnicity (Augoustinos, Ahrens & Innes, 1994), gender (Swim, Aikin, Hall & Hunter, 1995; Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995) and sexual orientation (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). We propose that differentiating between old-fashioned and modern prejudice is crucial for explaining why the members of advantaged groups take collective action in solidarity with or against the disadvantaged groups.

Old-fashioned prejudice rests on the belief in the outgroup's inherent inferiority. This type of attitudes usually justifies in-group's supremacy on biological grounds – where outgroup members are believed to be either less intelligent (Tarman & Sears, 2005), or as deviating from the norm (Herek, 1988; Morrison, Parriag & Morrison, 1999). Social distancing from out-group members constitutes another ingredient of old-fashioned prejudice – those who are prejudiced in a traditional way are reluctant to be in the proximity of out-group representatives, which precludes any close relationships (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). In the context of sexuality, traditional prejudice is exemplified by old-fashioned homonegativity (Morrison & Morrison, 2003; Morrison et al., 1999; see section 5.1.2).

Modern prejudice, on the other hand, emerged in response to political claims made by the historically disadvantaged groups (Brown, 2011) and rests on three key beliefs: the belief that all groups nowadays enjoy equal rights (meaning that discrimination is no more an issue), the belief that political demands put forward by the out-group are unrealistic or illegitimate, and the belief that the out-group is responsible for its own marginalization (McConahay, 1986; Morrison & Morrison, 2003). Unlike old-fashioned prejudice, modern prejudice does not involve explicit hostility (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005). As such, it refers to rather subtle manifestations of out-group antipathy. This type of attitudes is closely associated with opposition to policies designed to redress social inequalities (Sears, van Laar, Carrillo & Kosterman, 1997).

Modern homonegativity – the exemplification of modern prejudice in the context of sexual orientation – retains the key features of its *genus proximum* (Morrison & Morrison, 2003) and involves three major convictions. First, prejudice and discrimination against gay men and lesbian women is believed to no longer exist. Second, homosexuals' claims for social change (e.g., legal recognition of same-sex relationships) are considered illegitimate. Third, gay men and lesbian women are believed to be responsible for the marginalization they experience. Past studies revealed multiple correlates of modern homonegativity. The contemporary type of sexual prejudice is related positively to social dominance orientation and Protestant work ethic (Morrison, Kenny, & Harrington, 2005; Morrison & Morrison, 2011). On the other hand, the negative correlates of modern homonegativity include, among others, intergroup contact quality (Lytle, Dyar, Levy, & London, 2017), egalitarianism (Morrison & Morrison, 2011), as well as severity of homophobic hate crime punishment (Cramer, Wakeman, Chandler, Mohr, & Griffin, 2013).

We propose that the low level of modern homonegativity is a necessary condition for taking collective action in solidarity with LGBT individuals (H15). As argued in the literature

(e.g., Leach et al., 2006), in order to act on behalf of the low-status out-group, dominant group members need to acknowledge the mistreatment of the disadvantaged. Such recognition may elicit moral outrage – a specific type of anger "provoked by the perception that a moral standard – usually a standard of fairness or justice – has been violated" (Batson et al., 2007; p. 1272). In contrast to self-directed or unspecific anger, moral outrage directs blame for the moral transgression at a third party, authorities or a system of inequalities (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009). As such, it fuels political action intended to diminish social inequalities (Wakslak, Jost, Tyler, & Chen, 2007; Thomas, 2005). Since modern homonegativity involves a firm denial of sexuality-based inequalities, it may suppress moral outrage and therefore inhibit collective action in solidarity with sexual minorities. This reasoning receives support from the past research that revealed a negative relationship between modern homonegativity and collective action in support of LGBT rights (Smith, 2011).

Furthermore, one may expect that modern homonegativity would serve as a stronger negative predictor of solidarity-based collective action in comparison to its old-fashioned counterpart (H16). Similar to other types of attitudes distinguished in the literature (e.g. Allport, 1954; Kleinpenning, & Hagendoorn, 1993), old-fashioned and modern homonegativity may be projected onto the cumulative Guttman-type dimension ranging from neutral to extremely negative attitudes toward the out-group (Figure 2). As overtly hostile, the old-fashioned type of sexual prejudice should be placed in greater proximity to the negative end of such a continuum. At the same time, since solidarity-based collective action requires positive attitude toward the out-group (Cichocka et al., 2017), it may be located beyond the left end of the axis. As situated in greater proximity to solidarity-based engagement, modern homonegativity should be more predictive of collective action in solidarity with LGBT people

than old-fashioned homonegativity.[18] One of our past studies provided similar results in relation to policy support (Górska, Bilewicz, Winiewski, & Waszkiewicz, 2017). Specifically, in comparison to the traditional type of sexual prejudice, modern homonegativity served as a stronger negative predictor of support for homosexual marriages and civil unions (see also Eldridge & Johnson, 2011).

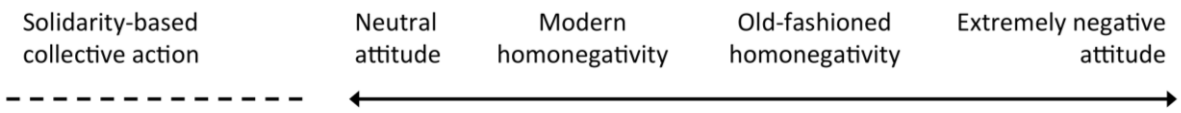

Figure 2. Collective action in solidarity with LGBT people in relation to the continuum of sexual prejudice.

4.1.3. Intergroup contact

Next to politicized identity and modern homonegativity, heterosexual/cisgender individuals' engagement in solidarity with LGBT people may depend on intergroup contact. Evidence suggests that contact with the disadvantaged encourages solidarity-based collective

[18] Since the two types of prejudice are cumulative, they bring different amount of information as far as solidarity-based engagement is concerned. A person low in old-fashioned homonegativity is equally likely to abstain from collective action in solidarity with LGBT people (when his or her modern homonegativity is high) as well as to take this type of engagement (when his or her modern homonegativity is low). By contrast, the low level of modern homonegativity is equivalent to the recognition of outgroup's disadvantage and, as such, should be associated with pro-LGBT collective action. In other words, modern homonegativity is more diagnostic for solidarity-based collective action than its old-fashioned counterpart.

action by the members of the high-status groups (Selvanathan et al., 2017). We propose that contact with LGBT individuals promotes collective action in support of sexual and gender minorities (H17).

Literature provides vast evidence for the prejudice-reducing and engagement-inspiring effects of intergroup contact. After several decades since the formulation of Allport's famous hypothesis (1954; see also Williams, 1947), a meta-analysis synthesizing hundreds of studies on intergroup contact and prejudice concluded that intergroup contact reduces prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), which means that knowing an out-group representative typically improves attitudes toward the out-group as a whole. Thus, if people can and do engage in intergroup contact, we can expect a decrease in prejudice toward the relevant out-group. Importantly, this effect concerns also attitudes toward sexual and gender minorities (Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Reimer et al., 2017; Smith, Axelton, & Saucier, 2009). For present purposes, it is particularly interesting to note that Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found that the mean correlation between contact and prejudice was significantly stronger for gay men and lesbians (mean r = -.27) than for other target groups combined (mean r = -.21).[19]

[19] Perhaps, this result may be explained with the concealable character of sexual stigma (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). In comparison to other devalued groups, LGBT individuals have a greater possibility of managing information on their stigma (Goffman, 1963). Unlike people of color or the disabled, LGBT individuals may decide to whom and at which point of the relationship they disclose their identity. To minimize stigma cost, non-normative sexual orientation or gender identity is first revealed in committed relationships – that is, with family members or friends (Herek, 2003). Even if initially prejudiced, this audience is strongly motivated to improve its attitudes toward sexual and gender minorities as a group in order to maintain the relationship with the particular LGBT person. On the other hand, LGBT individuals may come out to those whom they perceive as already non-prejudiced. Thus, the

Recent studies suggest that intergroup contact considered as the property of larger social units (e.g., countries or counties) diminishes prejudice over and above individual-level intergroup contact (*contextual effect of intergroup contact*; see Christ et al., 2014). This means that living in an area where intergroup contact is more (rather than less) prevalent, is more predictive of favorable outgroup-directed attitudes than having direct contact experiences. The mechanism responsible for this effect is the diffusion of positive in-group norms (Christ et al., 2014), which means that the positive course of cross-group encounters becomes a standard that affects all in-group members, including those who have not experienced intergroup contact directly. As recently shown by MacInnis, Page-Gould and Hodson (2017), contextual effect of intergroup contact has been registered also for sexual prejudice.

Since positive attitudes toward the disadvantaged out-group energize solidarity-based collective action (e.g. Cichocka et al., 2017), the decrease of sexual prejudice due to intergroup contact may translate into heterosexual/cisgender individuals' engagement in support of LGBT rights. In other words, the positive effect of intergroup contact on collective action in solidarity with LGBT people may be mediated by sexual prejudice. As already noted, however, not all types of sexual prejudice seem equally important for predicting solidarity-based engagement; it is reasonable to expect that in this context modern homonegitivity plays more important role than its old-fashioned counterpart. Therefore, we propose that intergroup contact promotes collective action in support of LGBT rights by reducing modern homonegativity (H18) and that modern homonegativity is a stronger

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strong association between intergroup contact and sexual prejudice may reflect not only the effect that intergroup contact exerts on attitudes, but also the effect of prejudice on intergroup contact (for evidence on the bidirectional relationship between intergroup contact and sexual prejudice, see Herek & Capitanio, 1996).

mediator of contact's effect than the old-fashioned type of sexual prejudice (H19).

Our reasoning is supported by previous research. There is vast evidence corroborating the association between intergroup contact and collective action in solidarity with LGBT people (e.g. Calcagno, 2016; Fingerhut, 2011; Mereish & Poteat, 2015; Sheer, & Poteat, 2015; Swank, Woodford, & Lim, 2013). Special attention should be paid to the results of two studies reported by Reimer and colleagues (2017). The three-wave longitudinal study conducted by these researchers demonstrated that positive intergroup contact encourages heterosexual/cisgender individuals' solidarity-based engagement over time. At the same time, the cross-sectional study suggested that the relationship between positive contact and collective action in solidarity with LGBT people could be accounted for by better outgroup-directed attitudes. On the other hand, different studies reveal negative associations between intergroup contact and modern homonegativity, as well as between modern homonegativity and collective action in support of LGBT rights (Smith, 2011). Thus, we felt legitimate to expect that the positive effect of intergroup contact on solidarity-based engagement would be mediated by the modern type of sexual prejudice.

Furthermore, intergroup contact with LGBT people seems likely to increase solidarity-based engagement of heterosexual/cisgender individuals by promoting their identification with pro-LGBT SMOs (H20). For example, forming a personal tie with a gay man who has experienced hate-based violence may prompt a majority member to develop a positive view of organizations that counteract such violence. Importantly, the positive relationship between intergroup contact with homosexuals and LGBT ally identity has been already revealed in the past research (e.g. Reimer et al., 2017; Smith, 2011).

4.1.4. Network embeddedness

Regardless of intergroup contact with sexual and gender minorities, solidarity-based collective action of majority members may be catalysed by their embeddedness in the activist network (H21).[20] There are several reasons why this may be a case.

First, social networks are a critical factor for the spread of information (see section 3.1.3). Knowing already engaged individuals, prospective allies are more likely to learn the logistic details about the future collective action events (Oegema and Klandermans 1994; Passy & Monsch, 2014).

Second, discussions with activists may transform the cognitive toolkit of future protesters (Passy & Monsch, 2014; Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2016). The powerful role of small group interactions in eliciting solidarity-based engagement has been revealed by Thomas, McGarty, and Mavor (2016). The experiment conducted by these researchers aimed to learn what factors prompt the residents of the developed countries to act in solidarity with the developing nations. In comparison to participants assigned to the control condition, participants who collectively discussed strategies for the "Water for Life" social movement reported higher group efficacy and identification with the opinion-based group (i.e., supporters of programs such as "Water for Life"). Importantly, both efficacy and in-group identification were associated positively with future engagement intentions. We propose that embeddedness in pro-LGBT activist network may stimulate similar processes.

[20] Although intergroup contact with LGBT individuals and embeddedness in pro-LGBT activist network are likely to share some amount of variance, they constitute two distinct phenomena. First, not all LGBT individuals are active members of the LGBT rights movement. Second, not all members of LGBT rights movement identify as LGBT individuals.

Specifically, by highlighting the unfair treatment of sexual and gender minorities, discussions with activists may mitigate the denial of the out-group's disadvantage. As such, it is reasonable to expect that network embeddedness would promote collective action in support of LGBT rights by diminishing modern homonegativity (H22). This is not to say that knowing a pro-LGBT activist does not translate into the old-fashioned type of sexual prejudice. However, since the low level of traditional homonegativity seems insufficient to elicit solidarity-based engagement, we expect that the positive effect of network embeddedness on solidarity-based collective action would be mediated to a greater extent by modern than old-fashioned homonegativity (H23).

On the other hand, the cognitive transformation elicited by network embeddedness may rely on the development of identification with the LGBT rights social movement. Interactions with already engaged individuals may promote ties formation and make the membership in the LGBT rights movement an important part of one's self-perception (see Thomas et al., 2016). Since politicized identity serves as a proximal antecedent of solidarity-base engagement, it is reasonable to expect that the positive effect of network embeddedness on collective action in support of LGBT rights would be mediated by the increase of pro-LGBT politicized identity (H24).

4.2. Meso-level factors

While the literature provides detailed knowledge on the individual-level antecedents of collective action in solidarity with LGBT people, much less has been told about the meso-level factors that stimulate or inhibit this type of engagement. In this section, we aim to fill this gap by focusing on the role of pro-LGBT SMOs.

4.2.1. Pro-LGBT social movement organizations

Although at its inceptive stage LGBT social movement had a rather inward orientation (e.g. Ayoub & Chetaille, 2017; Seidman, 1993), many actions of present-day SMOs focus on winning support of heterosexual/cisgender majority (Grzanka, Adler, & Blazer, 2015). The scale of such actions ranges from whole societies to local communities. Specifically, by organizing public awareness campaigns and engaging celebrieties as high-profile allies, nationwide SMOs attempt to increase support for LGBT rights in a general society. On the other hand, local SMOs (e.g., gay-straight alliances at university campuses) direct their efforts at small communities and try to engage their heterosexual/cisgender members in offline collective action events. We propose that similarly to other intergroup contexts (Martinez, 2008), an institutional presence of LGBT social movement in a local community promotes solidarity-based collective action of its heterosexual/cisgender residents (H25).

The positive effect of LGBT SMOs on solidarity-based collective action may be explained in several ways. First, by organizing events in the proximity of prospective allies' place of residence, LGBT SMOs lower psychological and financial costs of participation (see Brady et al., 1995). For instance, a heterosexual/cisgender person sympathizing with LGBT rights movement may lack motivation or resources necessary to participate in a pride parade taking place in a distant city. The very same individual, however, may eagerly attend the collective action event organized in his or her town. As such, by staging opportunities for engagement, local LGBT SMOs may supply the existing demand for solidarity-based collective action (see Klandermans, 2004).

Next, LGBT SMOs seem likely to invite solidarity-based engagement by increasing intergroup contact (H26). This effect may take two distinct forms. First, collective action events create opportunities for interactions between minority and majority members, which in turn may entail sustained engagement of heterosexual/cisgender allies. Second, by creating a

friendly climate toward sexual and gender minorities, LGBT SMOs may encourage minority members to disclose their identities to majority representatives (King, Mohr, Peddie, Jones, & Kendra, 2017), which may lead to higher intergroup contact and solidarity-based engagement of majority members.

Regardless of the effect via intergroup contact, LGBT SMOs are likely to prompt solidarity-based collective action by enhancing majority members' embeddedness in the activist network. Specifically, the presence of an LGBT SMO should increase the number of straight/cisgender allies in a given community, which may be reflected in personal networks of community members (i.e., it becomes more probable to know an engaged individual). As we have noted at the beginning of this chapter, high-status group allies are crucial when it comes to convincing general audience to actively support the minority cause. Thus, interactions with straight/cisgender acquaintances who are involved in the LGBT rights movement are likely to stimulate collective action of unengaged majority mambers.

Another possible mechanism behind SMOs' effect on individual solidarity-based engagement involves the reduction of modern homonegativity (H27). Collective action events or public awareness campaigns staged by a local organization may diminish sexual prejudice among heterosexual/cisgender members of a given community (Bruce, 2013; 2016). Importantly, by highlighting structural injustice faced by sexual and gender minorities, pride parades and outdoor advertising campaigns are likely to reduce modern homonegativty that, as we have already argued, should be especially predictive of solidarity-based collective action. This effect may occur irrespectively of one's contact with minority members or activists – due to direct exposure or media coverage the message conveyed by local LGBT SMOs has a chance to reach all members of a given community.

4.3. Macro-level factors

Just like other instances of political behaviour, collective action in solidarity with LGBT people may be shaped by macro-level factors (Cichocka et al., 2017; Corcoran et al., 2011). In this section, we discuss institutional sexual stigma as the distant antecedent of heterosexual/cisgender individuals' engagement in support of LGBT rights.

4.3.1. Legal regulations

According to sexual stigma theory (Herek, 2004, 2007, 2009), inferior status of homosexuality entrenched in legal regulations determines the thoughts, feelings and behaviors of both LGBT minority and heterosexual/cisgender majority members. We propose that, similarly to LGBT activism (see section 3.3.1), solidarity-based collective action taken by heterosexual/cisgender individuals is inhibited by the institutional form of sexual stigma. This process is likely to involve several different mechanisms.

First, discriminatory legal regulations may bolster sexual prejudice (H28) – a key individual-level obstacle on the way to solidarity-based engagement. This may occur due to the normative and prescriptive functions of law. Specifically, by criminalizing same-sex sexual acts, denying civil liberties or failing to provide protection, institutional stigma posits LGBT people as second-rate citizens, discrimination of whom is acceptable both in the realm of law as well as in interpersonal contacts. Since people are motivated to justify the systems they reside in (Jost & Banaji, 1994), heterosexual/cisgender individuals may internalize sexual stigma engrained in legal regulations. Past research provides consistent support for this reasoning. For example, residents of European countries with the lowest recognition of LGBT rights exhibited the highest disapproval of homosexuality (Hooghe & Meeusen, 2013; Kuntz et al., 2015; van den Akker et al., 2013), were most likely to perceive homosexuality as "never justified" (Slenders et al., 2014) and declared the strongest opposition to adoption by

same-sex couples (Takács et al., 2016). We believe that the high intensity of sexual prejudice (especially its modern type) due to institutional stigma may suppress the engagement of straight/cisgender allies.

Second, discriminatory legal arrangements may diminish intergroup contact with sexual and gender minorities (H31), which may further result in higher sexual prejudice (H32) and lower solidarity-based engagement. One reason for why institutional stigma would make intergroup contact with LGBT individuals especially rare is that it prevents the coming out of minority members. Sodomy law or the prohibition of "homosexual propaganda" may force LGBT individuals to actively conceal their identity in fear for penal responsibility. Weaker instances of institutional stigma, however, may also thwart LGBT individuals' openness. For example, by conveying negative norms on homosexuality (Herek, 2009) lack of hate crime protection may intensify rejection expectation (or felt stigma) among sexual minorities' members and discourage them from revealing their identity to wider audiences (Dyar, Feinstein, Eaton, & London, 2016). Indeed, past research demonstrated the positive relationship between institutional stigma and sexual orientation concealment in MSM (men having sex with men) population (Pachankis et al., 2015). On the other hand, low outness of sexual and gender minorities' representatives should be mirrored by the low prevalence of meaningful intergroup contact among heterosexual/cisgender majority members. Thus, by promoting stigma awareness and diminishing openness among LGBT individuals, discriminatory legal regulations may lessen the opportunity for intergroup contact among heterosexual/cisgender majority members. At the same time, the low prevalence of intergroup contact with sexual minorities may prevent the diffusion of positive in-group norms and thus inspire stronger prejudice.

On the other hand, more egalitarian legislation should increase the prevalence of intergroup contact not only by encouraging greater outness of LGBT individuals (i.e., creating

the opportunity for meaningful cross-group encounters). As noted by Pettigrew (1998), normative support provided by institutions shapes both quantity and quality of intergroup contact. By leveling the status of homosexuality and heterosexuality, progressive legal regulations, such as marriage equality, establish a norm of acceptance for homosexuality. This, in turn, may prompt heterosexual/cisgender individuals to get involved in intergroup contact with LGBT people. Furthermore, since supportive institutional environment translates into the equal status of interactants, the two of Allport's (1954) key intergroup contact conditions seem to be met.

4.4 Summary

In the present chapter, we sought to fill in the bottom left quadrant of Figure 1 by identifying the processes that lead to heterosexual/cisgender individuals' engagement in support of LGBT rights. Table 2 displays the potential antecedents of collective action in solidarity with LGBT people and divides these factors by type and the level of analysis. The 18 hypotheses that we formulated in the current chapter are verified across six studies presented in Chapters 9-11.

Table 2

Antecedents of heterosexual/cisgender individuals' solidarity-based collective action by type and the level of analysis

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	ANTECEDENT'S TYPE	
	STRUCTURAL	PSYCHOLOGICAL
MICRO	Intergroup contact Pro-LGBT network embeddedness	Modern homonegativity Politicized identity
MESO	SMOs	
MACRO	Legal regulations	

CHAPTER 5

HETEROSEXUAL/CISGENDER INDIVIDUALS' COLLECTIVE ACTION AGAINST LGBT RIGHTS

As revealed in Chapter 4, collective action in solidarity with LGBT people has drawn considerable attention of social scientists; past research identified both psychological and structural facilitators of activism in support of sexual and gender minorities. Little is known, however, about the circumastances that prompt heterosexual/cisgender men and women to take political behaviour[21] *against* the rights of LGBT individuals (for the exceptions, see Abrajano, 2010; Barth, Overby, & Huffmon, 2008). This may be a serious neglect, since social movements do not typically operate in isolation; in most cases the efforts of pro-LGBT SMOs are followed by the actions performed by an anti-gay countermovement, aiming to stop or overturn the emancipation of LGBT people (Camp, 2008; Dugan, 2004; Fetner, 2001).[22] In the European context, last decade brought the upsurge of anti-gay organizations and the increasing professionalization of these groups (Korolczuk, 2014). Mobilization against sexual minorities takes various forms, ranging from grassroots associations of concerned parents (Höjdestrand, 2015; Kuhar, 2017) through national conservative organizations (e.g. Sentinelle

[21] We deliberately use the term 'political behavior', which besides collective action (e.g., demonstrating and petition signing) denotes voting (see Cichocka et al., 2017). To our best knowledge, neither structural or psychological antecedents of collective action against LGBT rights have been investigated so far. The only topic-specific knowledge concerns voting (Abrajano, 2010; Barth et al., 2008).

[22] In the following paragraphs, collective action against LGBT rights denotes efforts directed at *limiting* the civil rights of LGBT people. This should be distinguished from engagement which aim is to *block* the increase of LGBT rights (see section 12.5).

in Piedi in Italy; see Garbagnoli, 2017) to transnational and international NGOs focused on changing EU-level policies (e.g., the European Centre for Law and Justice; see Datta, 2013). At the same time, political campaigns designed to limit the rights of sexual and gender minorities impair the well-being of LGBT individuals (e.g., Russell, 2000). Thus, it seems important to determine what encourages majority members to engage in anti-LGBT activism. In the present chapter, we propose a range of psychological and structural factors that may stimulate collective action intended to limit LGBT rights.

5.1. Micro-level factors

Because collective action against LGBT rights has not been investigated in social psychology so far, there is no past research that could inform our theorizing on what micro-level phenomena stimulate this type of engagement. In the following paragraphs, we zoom in on four factors – anti-LGBT politicized identity, intergroup contact, old-fashioned homonegativity and anti-LGBT network embeddedness – that mirror the micro-level antecedents of solidarity-based collective action discussed in Chapter 4.

5.1.2. Anti-LGBT politicized identity

Recent analyses (see Kuhar & Paternotte, 2017) suggest that opponents of LGBT rights have become an important actor in political debate across the Western world. Although the anti-LGBT mobilization has its national specificities (Garbagnoli, 2017; Graff & Korolczuk, 2017; Kuhar, 2017), it may be described as a transnational social movement whose local branches employ similar resources, discourses and strategies. Importantly, the common framing produced by anti-LGBT campaigners seems to facilitate the politicization of movement's collective identity. Specifically, by highlighting the threats to Christian civilization and traditional social order, anti-LGBT narrative prompts the shared grievance

recognition. At the same time, sexual and gender minorities are defined as the external enemy to be blamed for the in-group's predicament. Finally, anti-LGBT discourse underlines the importance of winning third parties' (e.g., legal authorities) support, which reflects the full politicization of collective identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Since politicized identity is a powerful catalyst of engagement (van Zomeren et al., 2008), we propose that identification with the anti-LGBT social movement serves as a direct source of collective action intended to limit the rights of sexual and gender minorities (H31).

In line with our reasoning, past research held in an American context revealed a positive correlation between conservative partisan identification[23] and endorsement for anti-LGBT policies. Specifically, individuals who defined themselves as Republicans (rather than Democrats) were shown to express higher approval for the imposition of same-sex marriage ban in California (Abrajano, 2010) and stronger support for anti-gay rights referendum in South Carolina (Barth et al., 2008). Importantly, the effect of partisan identity was not explained by other relevant factors (e.g., intergroup contact or religiosity), which suggests its proximal character as the source of support for anti-LGBT policies.

5.1.2. Old-fashioned homonegativity

Next to politicized identity, engagement intended to limit the rights of sexual and gender minorities may depend on sexual prejudice. We propose that old-fashioned homonegativity increases collective action against LGBT rights (H32) and that this effect is stronger than the analogical effect of modern homonegativity (H33).

One may provide several reasons why collective action intended to limit LGBT rights should exhibit stronger association with the old-fashioned rather than the modern form of

[23] We believe that partisan identity may be treated as a specific (i.e. extreme) case of politicized identity.

sexual prejudice. One of these arguments refers to the feeling of disgust. The close link between this emotion and anti-LGBT attitudes has received both theoretical (Nussbaum, 2010) and empirical (Inbar, Pizarro, & Bloom, 2012; Miller et al., 2017; Olatunji, 2008) accounts. For example, in their study of attitudes toward multiple groups (i.a. African Americans, fundamentalist Christians) Cottrell and Neuberg (2005) revealed that gay men elicit higher disgust than other groups and that disgust is the dominant emotion felt toward gay men. It seems that out of the two types of sexual prejudice considered in this dissertation, this is old-fashioned rather than modern homonegativity that exhibits stronger relationship to disgust. The Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG; Herek, 1988) – one of the major instruments used to assess old-fashioned homonegativity (Morrison & Morrison, 2003) – refers to disgust in one of its items (i.e., "I think male homosexuals are disgusting"). Furthermore, past research showed a stronger correlation with disgust for old-fashioned (r = .76, p < .001) than modern homonegativity (r = .52, p < .001; Z = 2.89, p = .004; Hejneman-Koczur, 2016).[24]

A closer look on the evolutionary origins and functions of disgust may elucidate why old-fashioned homonegativity should be more predictive of collective action against LGBT rights than its modern counterpart. Specifically, it is presumed that disgust has developed to propel the avoidance of disease-spreading organisms (pathogen disgust), prevent sexual

[24] The reported correlation coefficients were obtained in a control condition (n = 63) of a two-group experiment (control vs. disgust), where the emotion of disgust was activated by exposing participants to the picture of a water spider (matched by a picture of lettuce in the control condition). While sexual prejudice was assessed prior to the disgust manipulation, outgroup-directed disgust was measured afterwards. Importantly, old-fashioned homonegativity exhibited relatively stronger correlation with disgust also in the experimental condition.

contact with fitness-jeopardizing partners (sexual disgust) and coordinate the condemnation of those who break collectively accepted rules (moral disgust; Tybur, Lieberman, Kurzban, & DeScioli, 2013). It seems that sexual minorities elicit disgust because all of these reasons. First, since gay men are associated with AIDS (e.g. D'Augelli, 1989), they may evoke the most ancient, pathogen type of disgust. At the same time, the lack of reproductivity inherent to same-sex sexual behaviour is likely to prompt sexual disgust, especially when heterosexuals experience unwanted sexual interest from a person of the same sex (Franklin, 2000). Finally, since homosexuality violates the rules present in the majority of world cultures (Pickett, 2009), LGBT individuals may elicit moral disgust that aims to preserve the norms of a given community.

Importantly, disgust evoked by sexual minorities has strong behavioural consequences. The variety of behaviors motivated by disgust toward gay men and lesbian women has been catalogued by Filip-Crawford and Neuberg (2016) in their disease-spread lay model of homosexuality. According to these authors, sexually-prejudiced individuals conceptualize homosexuality and pro-gay ideology as contagious contaminants similar to pathogens. To deal with the threat posed by these contaminants, prejudice holders engage in a range of actions aimed to prevent, treat, contain or eradicate "the disease." While prevention is exepmplified by anti-gay socialization, treatment involves reparative therapies, containment relies on limiting the exposure to homosexual people and eradication denotes anti-gay physical violence. Since collective action against LGBT individuals does not involve the element of physical violence or imply the necessity of outgroup treatment, it corresponds most strongly to containment efforts. As claimed by Filip-Crawford and Neuberg (2016), this

type of behaviour is pursued when homosexuality and pro-gay ideology are perceived as highly infectious, which is the case for old-fashioned rather than modern homonegativity.[25]

Relatedly, old-fashioned homonegativity may stimulate anti-LGBT collective action due to its substantial affective load. As commonly acknowledged (Dovidio, Esses, Beach, & Gaertner, 2002; Talaska, Fiske, & Chaiken, 2008), the relative strength of cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects of intergroup attitudes varies between the constructs and measures. While some conceptualizations have strong cognitive basis (e.g., stereotypes; Katz & Braly, 1933), others accentuate the affective facet (e.g., feeling thermomether; Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993), and yet others focus on behavioural intentions (e.g., social distance; Bogardus, 1933). Regarding the modern vs. old-fashioned prejudice distinction, it seems that the two types of prejudice differ in terms of the emphasis they put on the cognitive and affective component of outgroup-directed attitudes. Modern prejudice, labelled sometimes as "cool" (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995) or "abstract" (Sears, 1998), appears to revolve around outgroup-related beliefs. On the other hand, old-fashioned prejudice seems to have a stronger affective ingredient. This discrepancy is evident on the level of measures employed to assess the two types of attitudes – while the scales of modern prejudice are rather muted in terms of emotions, items tapping on its old-fashioned counterpart include open expressions of disgust (Herek, 1988) or fear (Akrami, Ekehammar, Claesson, & Sonnander, 2006). Furthermore, as far as sexual prejudice is concerned, old-fashioned homonegativity was demonstrated to have

[25] The high contagiousness of homosexuality embedded in the old-fashioned homonegativity may be inferred from the content of specific items used to measure this class of attitudes. For example, the statement 'Homosexuals should not be allowed to work with children' from the Homonegativity Scale (Morrison et al., 1999) reflects the belief that children, whose sexuality has not fully developed yet, are susceptible to the harmful effects of contact with gay men and lesbians, even if this contact is not of sexual nature.

stronger negative association with positive affect toward gay men and lesbians (as measured with the feeling thermometer) than modern homonegativity (Lytle et al., 2017).[26]

At the same time, there is metaanalytic evidence that negative outgroup-directed behaviour depends to the greater extent on emotional prejudice than cognition-based attitudes (Talaska et al., 2008). Thus, given that old-fashioned homonegativity has a stronger affective component than its modern counterpart, individuals high in this type of prejudice should be particularly inclined to engage in collective action against LGBT rights. Importantly, the close association between old-fashioned homonegativity and negative outgroup-directed behaviour has been found in the past research on anti-gay violence (e.g., Poteat, DiGiovanni, & Scheer, 2013; Rey, & Gibson, 1997).

Another reason why old-fashioned homonegativity should be more predictive of collective action against LGBT rights is related to the personal costs of participating in anti-gay events. In most parts of the Western world, overtly hostile behaviour toward minorities is treated as the violantion of the equality and diversity norms (Bilewicz, 2012; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Plant & Devine, 1998). Diverting from these standards may threaten individual's reputation, ruin his or her relationships and, if the particular minority is granted hate crime protection, have legal consequences. However, compliance to the political correctness norm seems to depend on the type of prejudice held by a given person. Specifically, while individuals high in modern but low in old-fashioned prejudice may prefer not to express out-group antipathy openly, those high in old-fashioned (and modern) prejudice may be unconcerned by political correctness demands. For instance, in a study by Morrison and Morrison (2003), social desirability bias correlated negatively with old-fashioned homonegativity, meaning that those expressing traditional type of sexual prejudice were not

[26] The correlation coefficients for old-fashioned and modern homonegativity equalled, respectively, $r = -.51$, $p < .001$ and $r = -.43$, $p < .001$; $Z = 3.25$, $p = .001$.

motivated to conform to commonly shared norms. By contrast, social desirability bias was not associated with modern homonegativity. Thus, if it is true that those high in old-fashioned homonegativity manifest low sensitivity to external normative requirements, they may more willingly engage in collective action against LGBT rights.

Finally, the stronger effect of old-fashioned than modern homonegativity on anti-LGBT collective action may be derived from their location on the continuum of sexual prejudice (Figure 3). If we assume that engagement in actions intended to limit the rights of LGBT people builds upon extremely negative attitudes toward this group, old-fashioned homonegativity, which is placed closer to the right end of this continuum, should better predict anti-LGBT collective action than modern homonegativity.

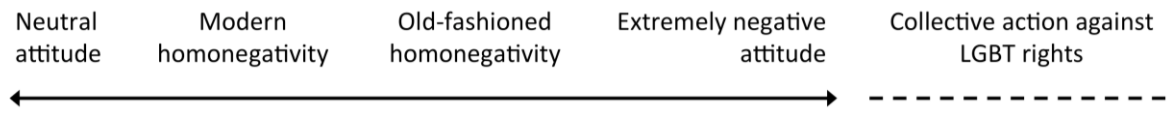

Figure 3. Collective action against LGBT rights people in relation to the continuum of sexual prejudice.

5.1.3. Intergroup contact

Intergroup contact may serve as another micro-level predictor of anti-LGBT collective action. Prior research provides evidence that knowing an LGBT person lowers discrimination of sexual and gender minorities. For example, a study by Schope and Eliason (2000) demonstrated that heterosexual undergraduate students having LGB friends or acquaintances were less likely to make or laugh at anti-gay jokes, threaten or make fun of a gay person or use homophobic slurs such as “fag” or “dyke”. In a similar vein, having LGBT friends was shown to lower homophobic behaviour among heterosexual youth (Poteat et al., 2013). Given

that political engagement pursued to impair out-group's position is another example of negative outgroup-directed behaviour, we propose that intergroup contact inhibits collective action against LGBT rights (H34). Importantly, this hypothesis receives support from the political science literature. Specifically, having contact with sexual minority members was shown to decrease support for same-sex marriage ban (Abrajano, 2010) or anti-gay rights referendum (Barth et al., 2008).

As far as the mechanisms are concerned, the negative effect of intergroup contact on anti-LGBT engagement may be explained by the decrease of sexual prejudice. In a study by Poteat and colleagues (2013), cross-group friendship with LGBT people diminished homophobic behaviour by lowering negative attitudes toward sexual and gender minorities. It is reasonable to expect that a similar process would occur for collective action against LGBT rights as the DV. However, not all types of sexual prejudice are equally likely to mediate the relationship between intergroup contact and anti-LGBT engagement. We propose that intergroup contact inhibits collective action against LGBT rights by lowering old-fashioned homonegativity (H35) and that old-fashioned homonegativity serves as a stronger mediator of intergroup contact effect in comparison to its modern counterpart (H36). Our predictions rest on two critical arguments. First, numerous studies show that the traditional type of sexual prejudice correlates negatively with intergroup contact (e.g., Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Steffens, Jonas, & Denger, 2015) and positively with discrimination (e.g., Parrott & Lisco, 2015). As such, old-fashioned homonegativity is in good position to serve as the intervening variable in the relationship between intergroup contact and anti-LGBT engagement. Second, since we assume that collective action against LGBT rights shows stronger association with old-fashioned than modern homonegativity (see section 5.1.2), this is the former that should better mediate the effect of intergroup contact on anti-LGBT engagement.

Furthermore, intergroup contact may diminish collective action against LGBT rights by limiting anti-LGBT politicized identity (H37). Personal relationships with LGBT people may prompt heterosexual/cisgender individuals to develop a critical view of the anti-LGBT social movement, whose narrative posits sexual and gender minorities as sinful, sick and threatening (Graff & Korolczuk, 2017).

5.1.4. Network embeddedness

We assume that, analogical to LGBT activism and solidarity-based engagement, collective action against LGBT rights depends on the interpersonal ties an individual has. Specifically, we propose that embeddedness in anti-LGBT protest network stimulates one's engagement to limit the rights of sexual and gender minorities (H38).

It seems plausible that this effect involves two classes of mechanisms. First, as noted in previous chapters, networks facilitate the spread of information relevant to collective action logistics (Fisher & Boekkooi, 2010; Kitts, 2000; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; Oegema and Klandermans 1994). Being a part of a tightly knit network of anti-LGBT activists, a person is more likely to acquire the details regarding the upcoming protest events.

Second, through the means of social influence, networks may shape the psychological antecedents of anti-LGBT engagement such as sexual prejudice and politicized identity (see Friedkin & Johnsen, 2011; Passy & Monsch, 2014). As shown in a school context, peer groups' homophobic attitudes foster sexual prejudice among youth (Poteat, 2007). A similar process may unfold in the network of anti-LGBT activists – interactions with already-engaged individuals may gradually shift one's cognitive toolkit in the direction of the group consensus. Such a transformation of attitudes may involve both the traditional as well the modern type of sexual prejudice. However, since we assume that old-fashioned homonegativity is more predictive of collective action against LGBT rights than its modern counterpart, it is

reasonable to expect that anti-LGBT network embeddedness would promote anti-LGBT engagement by fostering old-fashioned homonegativity (H39) and that old-fashioned homonegativity would serve as a better mediator of network embeddedness effect than modern homonegativity (H40).

Importantly, embeddedness in anti-LGBT activist network may strengthen identification with the anti-LGBT social movement regardless of prejudice. Frequent and satisfying contacts with already engaged individuals may contribute to the development of collective identity while not necessarily shifting one's beliefs. Therefore, we propose that network embeddedness increases collective action against the rights of sexual and gender minorities solely by strengthening anti-LGBT politicized identity (H41).

5.2. Meso-level factors

Similar to LGBT activism and collective action in solidarity with sexual and gender minorities, anti-LGBT engagement may depend on the features of local communities. We propose that one of the properties that shape collective action against LGBT rights is the presence of *pro*-LGBT SMOs.

5.2.1. Pro-LGBT social movement organizations

In the previous chapters, we hypothesized that pro-LGBT SMOs stimulate LGBT activism and solidarity-based collective action among heterosexual/cisgender individuals. In this section, we propose that such organizations *inhibit* engagement against LGBT rights (H42). One may identify two mechanisms underlying this relationship. First, the presence of local pro-LGBT SMOs may stimulate intergroup contact with sexual and gender minorities in a given community. Events arranged by these organizations such as pride parades or Human Library meetings (Hordejuk, 2015) create opportunities for the encounters between LGBT

and heterosexual/cisgender individuals. Furthermore, by fostering a more favourable climate for sexual and gender minorities, pro-LGBT SMOs may encourage more extensive disclosure from LGBT individuals, which should further translate onto greater prevalence of intergroup contact with this group (King et al., 2017). At the same time, intergroup contact was shown to diminish political behaviour against LGBT rights (see Abrajano, 2010; Barth et al., 2008). Thus, we propose that the negative effect of pro-LGBT SMOs on anti-LGBT engagement may be mediated by the increase of intergroup contact (H43). Importantly, more common intergroup contact may entail the decreased level of sexual prejudice – another potential catalyst of anti-LGBT engagement. Second, pro-LGBT SMOs are likely to lower collective action against LGBT rights by directly limiting old-fashioned homonegativity (H44). For example, information campaigns run by local SMOs may confront traditional beliefs on sexual and gender minorities.

5.3. Macro-level factors

Analogical to LGBT activism and solidarity-based engagement of heterosexual/cisgender individuals, collective action intended to limit LGBT rights is likely to depend on macro-level factors. In the following paragraphs, we consider the relationship between anti-LGBT engagement and institutional stigma.

5.4. Legal regulations

While in Chapters 3 and 4 we hypothesized that discriminatory legal regulations would inhibit collective action aiming to extend the rights of sexual and gender minorities, it is reasonable to expect that high institutional stigma would *promote* engagement against LGBT rights. There are three reasons why this may be the case. First, lack of hate crime protection creates favourable conditions for violent forms of anti-LGBT engagement. For

instance, the opponents of sexual and gender minorities may feel free to employ hate speech if they know that its use is not penalized by law. One example here is "zakaz pedałowania" – the obscene graphic symbol that may be found in Polish public spaces in the form of stickers or posters. The graphic, whose name can be translated both as "peddaling prohibited" as well as "faggoting prohibited", has a form of a prohibitive traffic sign with two male silhouettes having anal intercourse. Although the court refused to register this graphic as an official emblem of the extreme-right political party called the National Rebirth of Poland (Girdwoyń, 2015), it did not ban its use since there were no legal grounds to do so. Importantly, banners depicting the graphic regularly appear on demonstrations arranged by the nationalist or anti-LGBT social movement. One may speculate that if hate crime protection of LGBT minority was implemented, opponents of LGBT rights would be more cautious about participating in openly hostile, and hence legally repugnant, collective action events.

Second, discriminatory legal arrangements may fuel collective action against LGBT rights by promoting sexual prejudice. Because of their motivation to legitimize the status quo (Jost & Banaji, 1994), people may internalize the inferior status of sexual and gender minorities entrenched in legal regulations. For example, as justified on the ground of children protection, Russian "homophobic propaganda" law (Johnson, 2015) is likely to stimulate old-fashioned homonegativity, which links homosexuality to pedophilia, and may serve as a powerful source of anti-LGBT engagement.

Third, institutional stigma may increase collective action against LGBT rights by limiting intergroup contact with LGBT people – a plausible barrier to anti-LGBT engagement. This effect is likely to follow two distinct paths. Specifically, by increasing felt stigma among the members of sexual and gender minorities, discriminatory legal arrangements may prevent this group from organizing events in the public space as well as disclosing their identity in interpersonal interactions. Furthermore, by setting negative norms

regarding sexual and gender minorities, institutional stigma may discourage heterosexual/cisgender individuals from engaging in contact with LGBT people.

5.4. Summary

The objective of this chapter was to identify factors that may predict heterosexual/cisgender individuals' engagement to limit the rights of LGBT people. As such, we sought to fill in the bottom right quandrant of Figure 1, which serves as an analytical road map of our research programme. Table 3 displays the potential antecedents of collective action against LGBT rights divided by type and the level of analysis. The 14 hypotheses formulated in the preceding sections are verified across three studies presented in Chapters 9-11.

Table 3

Antecedents of heterosexuals' collective action against LGBT rights by type and level of analysis

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	ANTECEDENT'S TYPE	
	STRUCTURAL	PSYCHOLOGICAL
MICRO	Intergroup contact Network embeddedness	Old-fashioned homonegativity Politicized identity
MESO	SMOs	
MACRO	Legal regulations	

CHAPTER 6

STUDY 1

Study 1 investigated the micro-level, subjective antecedents of collective action among LGB[27] minority. We focused on internalized homophobia and in-group identification. Based on the rationale presented in Chapter 3, we expected that engagement of LGB individuals would be predicted positively by in-group identification (H1) and negatively by internalized homophobia (H2). Furthermore, we assumed that the negative effect of internalized homophobia on collective action would be mediated by the decrease of in-group identification (H3).

The study was embedded in the Polish political context. Multiple sources show that, in comparison to other European Union (EU) member countries, Poland is a harsh environment for LGBT people in which to live. The results of comparative nationwide surveys indicate that the acceptance of homosexuality in Poland belongs to the lowest in the EU (e.g. van den Akker et al., 2013). The prevalence of sexual prejudice is also demonstrated in domestic studies on representative samples. Out of numerous minority groups (e.g. Jews, Muslims, people with intellectual or physical disabilities) these are usually the LGBT individuals that attract the highest antipathy (Antosz, 2012; Winiewski, Hansen, Bilewicz, Soral, Świderska, & Bulska, 2017). Homophobic attitudes of the general public are echoed by the high rate of LGBT individuals reporting discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation (European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013). For example, in a recent study of 10,704 LGBTQA[28] individuals (Świder & Winiewski, 2017), 68.9% of respondents declerad experiencing verbal

[27] The sample in Study 1 was limited to LGB individuals.

[28] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Asexual. Chapter 7 includes a more detailed description of this study.

or physical violence due to their sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression in the last two years. As such, the prevalence of homophobia and hate crime in the public sphere creates fertile ground for the development of internalized stigma among LGBT individuals.

The stigmatization of sexual minorities in Poland may be explained with multiple factors. One of them is the strong position of the Roman Catholic Church[29], which condemns homosexuality and equates biological sex with gender identity and gender expression (Graff, 2014; Pickett, 2009; Siker, 2007). Numerous studies show that religiosity is likely to worsen attitudes toward sexual minorities. As demonstrated in our past research, individual religiosity (Górska, & Mikołajczak, 2015) and narcissistic identification with the Catholic Church (Marchlewska, Cichocka, Łozowski, Winiewski, & Górska, 2018) translate into gender conspiracy beliefs and negative attitudes toward homosexuals. On the other hand, the societal prevalence of religiosity was demonstrated to fuel disapproval of homosexuality regardless of individual religiosity (van den Akker et al., 2013). Another potential explanation posits the high level of sexual prejudice in Poland as the legacy of the communist era. Emanicpation of sexual minorities, which in Western countries gained its momentum in 1970s, did not embrace countries behind the Iron Courtain. Although the communist regime was not openly negative toward homosexuals[30], homosexuality remained in the realm of taboo. It was not until the systemic transition to liberal democracy in 1989 that the issues of homosexuality and LGBT rights entered the Polish public debate (Mizielińska, 2011). Thus, communist rule could have delayed the processes that in democratic countries started at least 20 years earlier. Third, some scholars attribute the high degree of homophobia to the conservative backlash

[29] The substantial majority of Poles (86.9%) declare to be catholic (GUS, 2013).

[30] The communist authorities preferred to intimidate homosexuals in secret. In the late 1980s police and the Secret Service arrested, interrogated and registered thousands of gay men in the undercover operation ‘Hyacinth’ (Selerowicz, 2015; Szulc, 2016).

that accompanied Poland's accession to the European Union (EU) in 2004 (Graff, 2010; Slootmaeckers & Touquet, 2016). According to this perspective, sexual prejudice has served as the way to protect the specific, national identity, from the threat posed by the political correctness norm enforced by external political entities. Finally, hostility toward sexual minorities seems to be sustained by conservative politicians, who cynically revert to anti-gay rhetoric to mobilize their constituencies (Graff, 2014; Mizielińska, 2011). Actually, for some of them, the moral panic that revolved around "genderism" in the fall of 2013 (see Graff, 2014; Graff & Korolczuk, 2017, Odrowąż-Coates, 2015) served as the means of political revival in 2015 parliamentary elections.

At the same time, Poland developed the strongest LGBT movement in the Central and Eastern Europe (Ayoub & Chetaille, 2017). The actions performed by the first generation of LGBT SMOs (mid-1980s-1997) were addressed primarily to minorities and aimed to develop Polish LGBT community, with its specific culture and identity. By contrast, SMOs funded in the 21st century focused on social change and targeted Polish society at large. The present-day SMOs address multiple issues and audiences; some of their actions concentrate on LGBT individuals, providing them with financial, legal and psychological aid, while others articulate political demands and seek for allies in heterosexual/cisgender majority. Because of all these, neither in-group identification nor collective action – the two concepts investigated in Study 1 – are empty signifiers in Polish LGBT community context.

6.1. Method

6.1.1. Participants

Participants were recruited via announcements posted on Polish LGBT online fora. We collected data from 161 (50.3% female, 49.7% male) self-identified LGB individuals (32.9% lesbian women, 41.6% gay men, 17.4% bisexual women and 8.1% bisexual men).

Participants' age ranged from to 18 to 47 (M = 25.75, SD = 6.84). The sample was dominated by large city (at least 500,000 residents) dwellers (46.6%) and university graduates (50.9%).

6.1.2. Measures

The wording of all measures matched gender and sexual orientation declared by the respondents. Participants' gender was assessed with a single item asking them to indicate the gender they identify with (1 = *male*, 2 = *female*, 3 = *other*). Responses to sexual orientation item included four options (1 = *lesbian*, 2 = *gay*, 3 = *bisexual*, 4 = *heterosexual / straight*).

Independent variable. To assess internalized homophobia, we used the Revised Internalized Homophobia Scale (IHP-R, Herek et al., 2009). The measure consisted of five items (α = .73) that matched participants' gender and sexual orientation. Participants were asked to declare their agreement (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) with the following statements: a) "If someone offered me the chance to be completely heterosexual, I would accept the chance"; b) "I wish I weren't lesbian / gay / bisexual"; c) "I feel that being lesbian / gay / bisexual is a personal shortcoming for me"; d) "I would like to get professional help in order to change my sexual orientation from lesbian / gay / bisexual to straight"; e) "I have tried to stop being attracted to women / men."

Mediator. In-group identification was measured with three items (α = .74) taken from Cameron's (2004) social identity scale: "I have a lot in common with other LGBTQI[31] individuals", "I often think about the fact that I am a LGBTQI individual", and "In general, I'm glad to be a LGBTQI individual." The response scale ranged from 1 (*Strongly disagree*)

[31] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex.

to 7 (*Strongly agree*). Importantly, the items represented three aspects of identity specified in the original measure (i.e. in-group ties, centrality and positive affect, respectively).[32]

Dependent variable. Attitude toward collective action was assessed with three items ($\alpha = .91$) used in the past research (e.g. Cichocka et al., 2017): "I want to get involved in actions designed to advance the interests of LGBTQI individuals in Poland"; b) "I do not see a need to participate in the actions aimed to improve the position of LGBTQI individuals within Polish society" (reverse-scored); c) "I will engage in collective action on behalf of Polish LGBTQI people." Participants used a response scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*).

Covariates. Covariates involved LGB subgroup, age, education and settlement size. All of these variables were revealed to correlate with LGBT engagement in the previous research (e.g., Herek, Norton, Allen, & Sims, 2010; Lewis et al., 2011; Rollins & Hirsch, 2003). LGB subgroup was coded on the basis of participants' responses to gender identity and sexual orientation items (1 = *gay men,* 2 = *lesbian women,* 3 = *bisexual women,* 4 = *bisexual men*). Prior to main analysis, the variable was dummy-coded so that gay men – the largest subgroup in the present dataset – served as the reference group. Education was assessed by asking the respondents to indicate the highest educational level they had attained (1 = *no formal education,* 2 = *incomplete primary school,* 3 = *complete primary school*, 4 = *incomplete secondary school: technical/vocational type*, 5 = *complete secondary school: technical/vocational type,* 6 = *incomplete secondary school: university-preparatory type*, 7 = *complete secondary school: university-preparatory type*, 8 = *some university-level education,*

[32] As revealed by the results of the exploratory factor analysis (EFA, principal axis factoring), internalized homophobia and in-group identification formed two separate factors, explaining 34.51% and 18.83% of variance, respectively. Thus, it was legitimate to treat these variables as two distinct constructs.

without degree, 9 = *university-level education with a degree*). Settlement size was recorded on an 8-point scale (1 = *less than 2,000 residents*, 2 = *2,000 – 4,999 residents*, 3 = *5,000 – 9,999 residents*, 4 = *10,000 – 19,999 residents*, 5 = *20,000 – 49,999 residents*, 6 = *50,000 – 99,999 residents*, 7 = *100,000 – 499,999 residents*, 8 = *500,000 residents and more*). Participants' age was calculated on the basis of the declared year of birth.

6.2. Results

6.2.1. Preliminary analyses

To check whether the current data reproduced the patterns found in the past research, we inspected descriptives and correlations. Table 4 presents means, standard deviations and correlations for the variables assessed in Study 1. In line with past results (e.g., Frost & Meyer, 2009), in-group identification correlated negatively with internalized homophobia, $r = -.23$, $p = .004$. Collective action was related positively to in-group identification ($r = .68$, $p < .001$), which confirmed previous findings (van Zomeren et al., 2008). The correlation between collective action and internalized homophobia was negative, $r = -.22$, $p < .001$. LGB subgroup did not differentiate internalized homophobia ($F(3, 157) = 0.81$, $p = .492$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$), in-group identification ($F(3, 157) = 0.94$, $p = .421$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$) or collective action, $F(3, 157) = 0.65$, $p = .583$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Nevertheless, to be consistent with other studies presented in this dissertation, we controlled for this variable in the further analyses.

6.2.2. Main analyses

6.2.2.1. Analytical strategy

The logic of analysis and specific solutions employed in Study 1 were relevant also to Studies 2-9. Therefore, the current paragraph presents the detailed description of our analytical strategy.

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations and Intercorrelations for the variables assessed in Study 1

	M	*SD*	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Collective action	5.18	1.66	.68***	-.22**	-.11	.18*	.01
2. In-group identification	5.05	1.49		-.23**	-.01	.26**	.07
3. Internalized homophobia	1.55	0.68			.08	-.10	-.11
4. Education	7.72	1.76				.36***	.19*
5. Settlement size	6.39	2.16					.17*
6. Age	25.75	6.84					

Note. $N = 161$.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Since the current work was intended to explore the *processes* leading to LGBT-related collective action, all studies included in this dissertation made use of mediation analysis. The order of steps taken to test specific mediation models resembled the recommendations provided by Baron and Kenny (1986). First, we established a total relationship between the focal predictor(s) and the DV(s). Next, we tested full mediation models including the focal predictor(s), mediator(s) and the DV(s). In the last step, we checked the robustness of our results by a) introducing the covariates, b) employing alternative measures of specific constructs, c) repeating analyses on the full sample / imputed datasets. All analyses were performed in the path analysis framework using Mplus 7.0 software (Muthén & Muthén, 2012). To adjust for the violations of multivariate normality[33], a robust Maximum Likelihood estimator (MLR, see Yuan & Bentler, 2000) was employed. This combination of software and

[33] As shown by Mardia's multivariate skewness ($\chi^2 = 107.29$, $p < .001$) and kurtosis ($Z = 4.51$, $p < .001$) tests, multivariate normality condition was violated in Study 1.

estimation method, however, entailed some limitations. First, at least in Mplus, MLR precludes the use of bootstrapping – a resampling method that provides accurate estimates of confidence intervals for the indirect effects (Hayes, 2013). Therefore, whenever possible, we provided two sets of statistics for the indirect effects – these obtained with MLR and with bootstrapping (5,000 re-samples and ML estimator). Prior to path analysis, all continuous predictors were mean-centered. Observations with standardized residuals greater than three standard deviations from the mean were qualified as outliers and excluded from the main analyses (see Barnett & Lewis, 1994).

6.2.2.2. Hypotheses testing

In accordance with H2, internalized homophobia exerted a negative effect on collective action, *B* = -0.53, *SE* = 0.21, 95% *CI* [-0.94, -0.13], *p* = .010 (Table 5, Model 1). When in-group identification was added as the mediator, the direct effect of internalized homophobia on the DV became nonsignificant, *B* = -0.16, *SE* = 0.15, 95% *CI* [-0.46, 0.14], *p* = .289 (Table 5, Model 2, Fig. 4). At the same time, internalized homonegativity exerted a negative effect on in-group identification (*B* = -0.50, *SE* = 0.17, 95% *CI* [-0.78, -0.17], *p* = .003) and, in line with H1, in-group identification was a positive predictor of collective action, *B* = 0.74, *SE* = 0.07, 95% *CI* [0.60, 0.89], *p* < .001 (H1). The indirect effect of internalized homophobia on collective action by in-group identification was negative and significant, *IE* = -0.37, *SE* = 0.13, 95% *CI* [-0.62, -0.12], *Z* = -2.92, *p* = .004[34], which confirmed H3. Introducing the covariates into the model did not change the results in a meaningful way (Table 5, Model 3); in-group identification still mediated the relationship between internalized

[34] This indirect effect was also significant when confidence intervals were estimated with the use of bootstrapping, *IE* = -0.37, *SE* = 0.13, 95% *CI* [-0.65, -0.12], *Z* = -2.79, *p* < .001.

homophobia and collective action, *IE* = -0.27, *SE* = 0.12, 95% *CI* [-0.51, -0.02], *Z* = -2.14, *p* = .033. No outlying observations were identified.

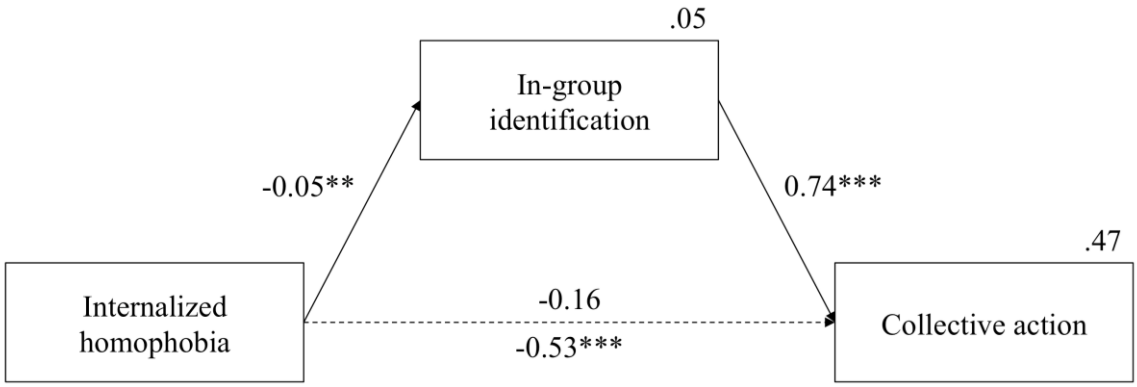

Figure 4. Mediation effect of internalized homophobia on collective action by in-group identification (Study 1).

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$.

Note. The figure displays the unstandardized estimates for Model 2 (Table 5). The estimates below and above the path from internalized homophobia to collective action represent the total and direct effect of internalized homophobia, respectively. The dashed line denotes a nonsignificant direct effect of internalized homophobia.

Table 5

The effects of internalized homophobia and in-group identification on LGBT collective action (Study 1)

	Model 1		Model 2
Predicted variable	Collective action	In-group identification	Collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	5.18 (0.13)***	0.00 (0.11)	5.18 (0.10)***
In-group identification			0.74 (0.07)***
Internalized homophobia	-0.53 (0.21)*	-0.50 (0.17)**	-0.16 (0.15)
Lesbian			
Bisexual woman			
Bisexual man			
Age			
Education			
Settlement size			
R^2	.05	.05	.47
-2 log-likelihood	611.31	1093.07	

Note. N = 161. Entries are unstandardized estimates. In-group identification, internalized homophobia, age, education and settlement size were mean-centered. Age divided by 10. Gay men served as a reference category for LGB subgroup.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 5 (continued)

The effects of internalized homophobia and in-group identification on collective action (Study 1)

	Model 3	
Predicted variable	In-group identification	Collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	0.09 (0.19)	5.06 (0.13)***
In-group identification		0.73 (0.07)***
Internalized homophobia	-0.36 (0.17)*	-0.15 (0.15)
Lesbian	-0.11 (0.28)	0.13 (0.21)
Bisexual woman	0.08 (0.29)	0.34 (0.24)
Bisexual man	-0.88 (0.51)	0.16 (0.41)
Age	0.10 (0.16)	-0.02 (0.17)
Education	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.10 (0.05)*
Settlement size	0.21 (0.06)**	0.03 (0.06)
R^2	.14	.48
-2 log-likelihood	1393.20	

Note. N = 161. Entries are unstandardized estimates. In-group identification, internalized homophobia, age education and settlement size were mean-centered. Age divided by 10. Gay men served as a reference category for LGB subgroup.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

6.3. Discussion

The aim of Study 1 was to examine whether LGB individuals' collective action is promoted by in-group identification (H1) and mitigated by internalized homophobia (H2). Furthermore, we wished to check if the negative effect of internalized homophobia on LGBT activism could be explained by the decrease of in-group identification (H3). All of these hypotheses received full support. In accordance with our expectations, internalized homophobia exerted a negative effect on collective action, and this effect was fully mediated by the decline of in-group identification.

Study 1 adds to the literature in two ways. First, it identifies low engagement intentions as the correlate of internalized homophobia. While past studies focused mainly on internalized stigma detrimental effects for the mental health of LGBT individuals (e.g., Newcomb & Mustanski, 2010), our findings suggest that internalized homophobia is also related to collective action – a group-level phenomenon. Importantly, the negative relationship between internalized homophobia and engagement attests to the premises of system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost et al., 2004; Pacilli et al., 2011). As proposed in this perspective, adoption of hierarchy legitimizing myths (i.e., internalized homophobia) prompted unchallenging behaviour (i.e., low willingness to engage in collective action) among the members of a low-status group (i.e., LGB individuals).

Second, Study 1 shows the mechanism through which internalized sexual stigma restrains collective action. Specifically, the negative effect of internalized homophobia on engagement was mediated by the decrease of in-group identification. This is in line with the earlier proposition (Jost & Burgess, 2000) that members of disadvantaged groups experience a psychological conflict between group- and system-justification tendencies. If the system justification motive prevails, identification with one's disadvantaged in-group is likely to decrease. The present results show that this was the case for sexual minorities members',

whose internalized homophobia – reflection of high system justification motive (Pacilli et al., 2011) – translated into lower in-group identification. Moreover, the decrease of in-group identification due to internalized stigma was demonstrated to have important consequences. Specifically, it led to lower collective action intentions, confirming the positive association between group identity and engagement revealed in the previous research (van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Study 1 is not free of limitations, though. The cross-sectional design of the current research prevents us from making strong causal inferences. Although, in line with our predictions, the negative effect of internalized homophobia on collective action was fully mediated by the decrease of in-group identification, other intepretations of the present data are equally plausible. For example, in-group identification could promote collective action by suppressing internalized stigma. Two arguments, however, speak in favour of the precedence of internalized homophobia over in-group identification. First, the stage models of homosexual identity development (see Bilodeau & Renn, 2005) suggest that prior to establishing stable bonds with the LGBT community (i.e., developing in-group identification) sexual minorities' representatives have to overcome negative feelings toward their own sexual orientation (i.e., internalized homophobia). Second, a "reversed" model where in-group identification served as a focal predictor, internalized homophobia as a mediator and collective action as the DV showed that the positive effect of in-group identification on collective action was not mediated by internalized homophobia, *IE* = 0.02, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.02, 0.05], *Z* = 0.95, *p* = .341.[35] Nevertheless, to warrant stronger conclusions regarding the relative position of specific variables in a causal chain, future studies should apply a longitudinal design.

[35] This effect did not reach significance also when the bootstrapping procedure was applied, *IE* = 0.02, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.01, 0.07], *Z* = 0.88, *p* = .379.

CHAPTER 7

STUDY 2 AND STUDY 2 FOLLOW-UP[36]

While Study 1 investigated the subjective, individual-level antecedents of sexual minorities' collective action, Study 2 focused on network embeddedness and local pro-LGBT SMOs – structural variables located at different levels of analysis. Although empirical evidence suggests that these factors are closely related to LGBT activism (e.g. Swank & Fahs, 2013b; 2016), some issues have not been investigated so far. First, past studies did not show explicitly that knowing engaged individuals promotes collective action of LGBT individuals by fueling the psychological triggers of engagement. Specifically, despite assessing structural and psychological antecedents of collective action simultaneously, past research did not check whether the positive effect of network embeddedness on engagement was *mediated* by psychological factors (see Swank & Fahs, 2016; Swank et al., 2013). Second, due to their cross-sectional character, past studies could not adjudicate whether this is network embeddedness that stimulates collective action or collective action that promotes network embeddedness. Since both of these effects are theoretically viable, a longitudinal study is necessary to disentangle them. Third, it has not been examined whether embeddedness in an LGBT activist network (or any protest network) depends on the phenomena from the higher levels of analysis. Finally, despite showing the positive relationship between SMOs (a meso-level factor) and individual engagement (a micro-level factor), past research (e.g., Martinez, 2008) did not reveal the mechanisms behind this effect. Study 2 and its follow-up were intended to fill all these gaps.

[36] This chapter is based on Górska, P., Bilewicz, M., Winiewski, M., Soral, W., & Bulska, D. (2018). *Social movement organizations, network embeddedness and in-group identification: How LGBT individuals engage in collective action.* Manuscript submitted for publication.

7.1. Study 2

Study 2 had two basic objectives. First, it sought to examine the processes elicited by embeddedness in the protest network. As mentioned in Chapter 3, having ties with activists may promote the development of in-group identity (Passy & Monsch, 2014), which is known to be a central source of engagement (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Therefore, we expected that one's embeddedness in the LGBT acitivst network would serve as the positive predictor of collective action (H4) and that this relationship would be mediatied by the increase of in-group identification (H5). Second, we aimed to check if SMOs – the supply-side of participation (Klandermans, 2004) – explain activism among sexual and gender minorities members. Following politicial science and sociological literatures (e.g., Fisher et al., 2005; Martinez, 2008), we supposed that local pro-LGBT SMOs would also serve as the positive predictor of individual engagement (H6). We expected three different processes to explain this relationship. Specifically, we hypothesized that pro-LGBT SMOs would promote collective action by increasing one's network embeddedness (H7). It seemed reasonable to us that, by organizing collective action events, local SMOs would increase the number of engaged individuals in a given community, which would further increase residents' average probability of having an activist in a personal network. Moreover, we expected that SMOs would heighten collective action by the sequential increase of network embeddedness and in-group identification (H8). As noted before, higher structural availability is likely to enhance in-group identification, and this process may follow from the increase of network embeddedness assumed in H7. Finally, we hypothesized that SMOs would promote engagement solely by enhancing in-group identification (H9). In other words, we deemed it possible that the actions of local SMO strengthen one's in-group identification without altering network embeddedness. For example, affirmative outdoor campaign may prompt an

LGBT individual to identify with the in-group even if the exposition to LGBT-friendly billboards is not accompanied by acquaintance with already-engaged individuals.

Study 2 analyzed data from the large survey conducted at the turn of 2016 and 2017 by the alliance of Polish LGBT organizations (i.e., the Campaign Against Homophobia, Lambda Warszawa and Trans-Fuzja) and the Center for Research on Prejudice at the University of Warsaw. The aim of the survey was to diagnose the current situation of sexual and gender minorities in Poland. Apart from the measures of network embeddedness, in-group identification and collective action, the survey questionnaire included the scales of other constructs such as self-esteem, depression and life satisfaction (for details see Świder & Winiewski, 2017).

7.1.1. Method

7.1.1.1. Participants

The survey questionnaire was hosted online. A welcome message presented the survey objectives and assured participants of data confidentiality. Respondents could comment on the questionnaire and contact its authors. Participants were also offered an opportunity to leave their email address to participate in the second wave of the survey after six months. The link to the questionnaire was distributed via social media (Facebook), local LGBTQIA organizations' listservs and LGBTQIA portals (e.g. queer.pl).

In total, the survey questionnaire was opened 11,243 times. The number of individuals who indicated their county of residence was considerably lower (n = 6,841). To conform with the ethics approval, we exluded data from participants who reported to be minors (n = 1,031).

Furthermore, since the scope of the present dissertation was restricted to the rights of LGBT individuals, we excluded responses of asexual, intersexual and queer respondents (n = 206)[37]. Following these changes, the final sample included 5,604 participants (lesbians, gay men, bisexual women, bisexual men, transgender persons) from 333 out of 380 Polish counties (Figure 5). Respondents' age ranged from 18 to 97 years (M = 27.74, SD = 8.80). As shown in Figure 6, young participants dominated in the sample.

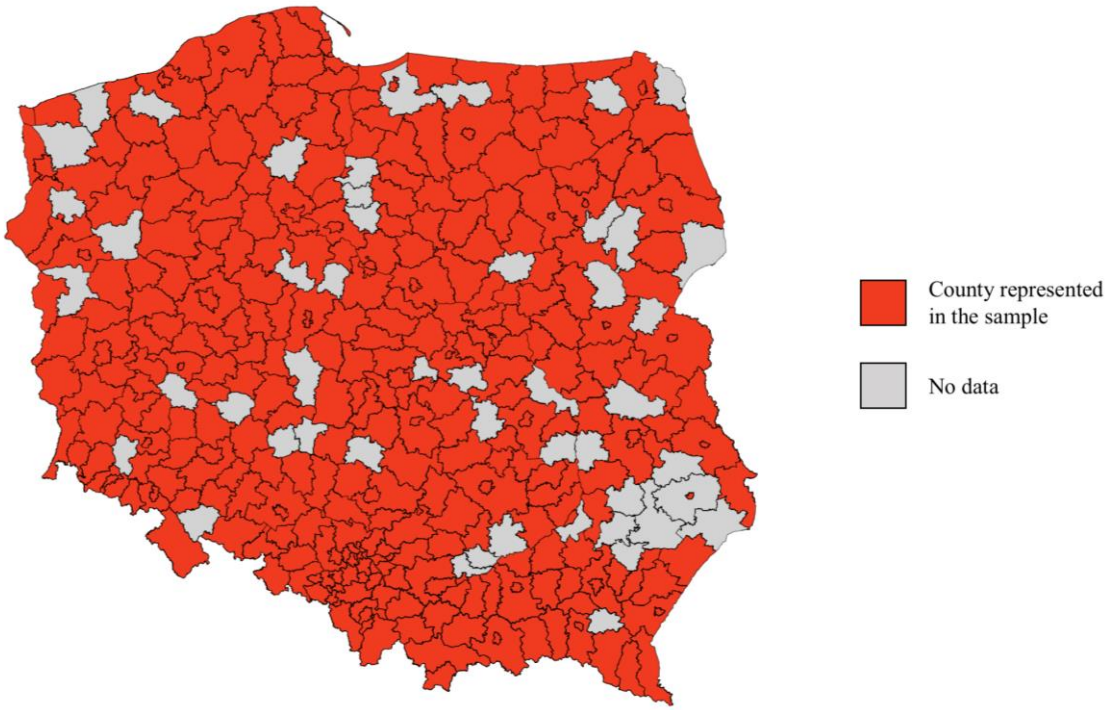

Figure 5. Counties represented in the sample (Study 2).

[37] LGBTQIA subgroup was coded based on participants' responses to the gender and sexual orientation items. Including asexual, intersexual and queer participants in the analyses did not change the results of Study 2 in a meaningul way.

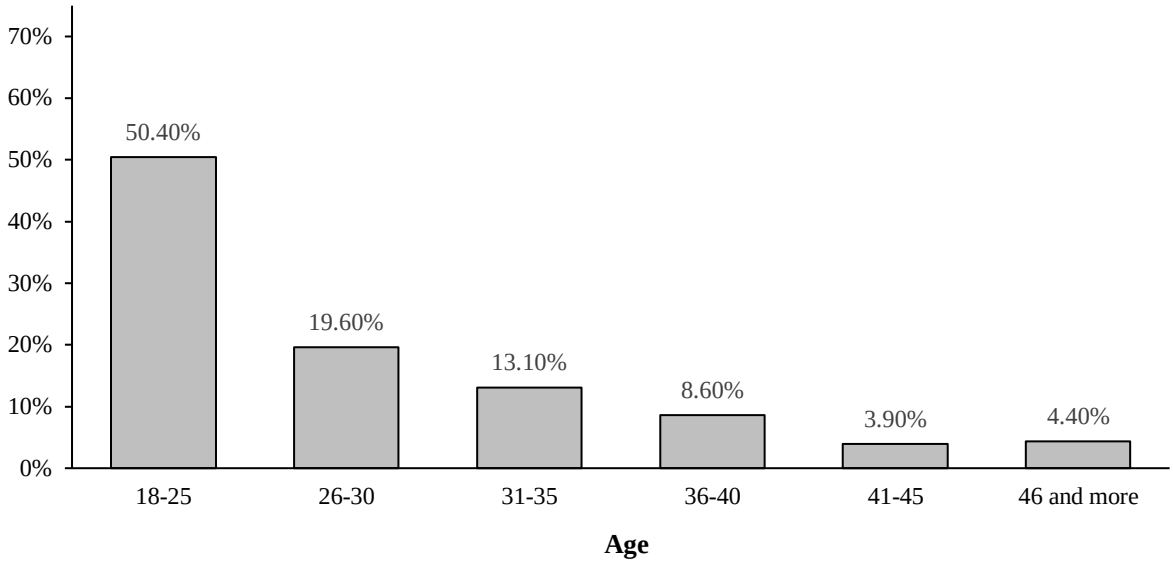

Figure 6. Age distribution in Study 2.

7.1.1.2. Measures

The wording of all measures matched the respondents' gender and sexual orientation reported in the initial part of the questionnaire. The participants' gender was measured with two items asking them to indicate whether they were transgeder (1 = *no*, 2 = *yes*) and what gender they identified with (1 = *female*, 2 = *male*, 3 = *androgynous*, 4 = *genderqueer*, 5 = *a non-gender person*, 6 = *other*). To measure sexual orientation, we asked the participants to choose one of four options: 1 = *homosexual*, 2 = *bisexual*, 3 = *asexual*, 4 = *heterosexual / straight*).

7.1.1.2.1. Individual-level variables

Independent variable. Network embeddedness was assessed with a single question (see Klandermans & Oegema, 1987): "Do you know a person who is engaged in the events (e.g., protests, demonstrations, web-based campaigns) supporting LGBT rights in Poland?" The response scale involved seven options (0 = *No, I don't*, 1 = *Yes, one*, 2 = *Yes, two*, 3 = *Yes, three*, 4 = *Yes, four*, 5 = *Yes, five*, 6 = *Yes, six or more*).

Mediator. In-group identification was measured with three questions employed in Study 1 (α = .79): "I have a lot in common with other LGBTA individuals", "I often think about the fact that I am an LGBTA individual", and "In general, I'm glad to be an LGBTA individual." Participants used a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Dependent variable. To measure collective action we asked participants to declare how likely they were to engage in three actions (i.e., petition signing, joining a demonstration and distributing information; α = .74) in order to improve the position of LGBTA individuals in Poland (1 = *very unlikely*, 7 = *very likely*).

Covariates. To make sure that the expected effects of network embeddednes and in-group identification on the DV could not be explained with participants' sociodemographic properties, our analyses were adjusted for age, education, subjective economic situation, settlement size and conservative voting, which contributed to LGBT activism in past research (e.g., Swank & Fahs, 2016; Swank et al., 2013). We computed participants' age based on the declared year of birth. Education was operationalized as years of full-time education. To measure participants' subjective economic status, we asked them to report their households' economic situation on a 10-point scale (1 = *the lowest possible*, 10 = *the highest possible*). Settlement size was coded on 7-point scale 1 = *rural area*, 2 = *town up to 19,999 residents*, 3 = *town between 20,000 and 49,999 residents*, 4 = *town between 50,000 and 99,999 residents*, 5 = *town between 100,000 and 499,999 residents*, 6 = *city between 500,000 and 1,000,000 residents*, 7 = *city with at least 1,000,000*). Finally, conservative voting (0 = *no*, 1 = *yes*) was operationalized based on participants' voting decisions in 2015 parliamentary elections. The responses of participants who supported Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS), Kukiz'15, and the Coalition for the Renewal of the Republic – Liberty and Hope (Koalicja Odnowy Rzeczypospolitej Wolność i Nadzieja, KORWiN) in the 2015 elections were coded

as conservative (n = 381). [38] Voting for other committees was coded as non-conservative (n = 2,999). The remaining responses (i.e. lack of participation and response refusal) were coded as missing data (n = 2,224).

7.1.1.2.2. County-level variables

Independent variable. The presence of pro-LGBT SMOs in a given county (0 = *no*, 1 = *yes*) was coded based on information obtained in the Internet search and then consulted with Polish LGBT activists (for a similar mode of obtaining LGBT SMOs data, see Paceley, Oswald, & Hardesty, 2014). In total, 15 counties with active LGBT organizations were identified.

Covariates. To check SMOs against other county-level explanatations of collective action, we controlled for counties' ideological climate, economy and size. There is well-established literature on the effects of community-level ideological climate – a system of collectively shared norms and values (Green & Staerklé, 2013) – on individual attitudes and behaviour. For example, conservative ideological climate (i.e., the set of beliefs encompassing the importance of hierarchy, group differences, obedience and tradition; see Fasel, Green, & Sarassin, 2013) was shown to enhance opposition to antiracism laws over and above one's personal political position (Sarrasin et al., 2012). Importantly, the potential role of ideological climate as the source of individual engagement has been also recognized in the context of LGBT activism. For example, Swank and Fahs (2013b, p. 1391) noticed that "[L]iving in liberal neighborhoods […] could foster greater activism. Conversely, living in isolated rural communities or being raised in socially conservative families […] could dampen any inclinations to gay and lesbian activism." Therefore, we controlled for conservative

[38] These committees were classified as conservative based on their social and economic programmes (see Winiewski, Jurczyszyn, Bilewicz, & Beneda, 2015).

ideological climate – a likely barrier to LGBT engagement. Conservative ideological climate was operationalized as the proportion of valid votes for PiS, Kukiz'15 and KORWiN in 2015 parliamentary elections. The county-level election results were retrieved from the online resources of the National Electoral Commission (Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza; PKW, 2015). Another county property that we controlled for was unemployment rate. As postulated by the modernization theory (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), hostility toward sexual minorities is stronger in less affluent societies that are characterized by the dominance of survival (rather than self-expression) values. We consider it plausible that the negative relationship between economic conditions and sexual prejudice is also the case on the level of counties, which may further translate into LGBT activism. Specifically, by promoting antipathy toward sexual and gender minorities, a weak economy of a given community may thwart collective action among its LGBT residents. Therefore, we treated 2016 registered unemployment rate (0 = *no unemployment*, 100 = *full unemployment*) as the proxy for severe economic conditions. Unemployment data was retrieved from the data bank provided by the Central Central Statistical Office (Bank Danych Lokalnych, 2017). The last meso-level variable we accounted for was county type (0 = *land county* [powiat ziemski], 1 = *city county* [powiat grodzki]). According to the previous research, LGBT SMOs are more likely to function in metropolitan areas (Paceley et al., 2014). Thus, in order to check whether the potential effects of SMOs were independent from the community type, we differentiated between land and city counties.

7.1.2. Results

7.1.2.1. Preliminary analyses

To examine if the present data replicated associations found in the past research, we calculated descriptives and intercorrelations for the micro- and meso-level variables (Table 6). On the individual-level, collective action correlated positively with in-group identification

(r = .47, p < .001) and pro-LGBT network embeddeness (r = .49, p < .001), which was in line with the past results (e.g. Swank & Fahs, 2016). Likewise, the positive correlation between in-group identification and pro-LGBT network embeddedness (r = .30, p < .001) replicated the pattern found in previous research (e.g. Klandermans et al., 2008). On the county-level, presence of pro-LGBT SMOs was related negatively to conservative ideological climate (r = -.21, p < .001) and unemployment rate (r = -.26, p < .001) and positively to city county status (ϕ = .44, p < .001). Conservative ideological climate was related negatively to city county status (r = -.21, p < .001) and positively to unemployment, r = .11, p = .046. Finally, there was a negative association between city county status and unemployment, r = -.30, p < .001.

LGBT subgroup differentiated collective action (F(4, 4060) = 68.92, p < .001, η_p^2 = .06), in-group identification (F(4, 4145) = 33.95, p < .001, η_p^2 = .03) and network embeddedness, F(4, 4020) = 25.56, p < .001, η_p^2 = .03. Lesbians declared the highest collective action intentions (M = 5.22, SD = 0.06), were most strongly identified with their in-group (M = 5,43, SD = 1.37) and manifested the highest degree of network embeddedness, M = 4.74, SD = 0.09. By contrast, bisexual men declared the lowest willingness to engage in collective action (M = 3.56, SD = 0.11), displayed the weakest in-group identification (M = 4.17, SD = 1.64) and showed the lowest degree of network embeddedness, M = 3.27, SD = 0.15. The significant effects of LGBT subgroup prompted us to control for this variable in further analyses.

The rate of missing data for individual-level variables ranged from 0 for age and subjective economic status to 39.7% for conservative voting (M = 17.40%). There was no missing data for county-level variables.

Table 6

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the variables assessed in Study 2

Individual-level variables	*M*	*SD*	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Collective action	4.63	1.74	.47***	.49***	-.003	.06***	.02	.11***	-.26***
2. In-group identification	5.10	1.50		.30***	.02	.01	.03*	.03	-.20***
3. Pro-LGBT network embeddedness	4.33	2.34			.10***	.17***	.09***	.23***	-.19***
4. Age	27.74	8.80				.41***	.12***	.10***	-.07***
5. Education	15.18	3.09					.16***	.25***	-.15***
6. Subjective economic situation	5.07	1.89						.17***	-.09***
7. Settlement size	5.11	1.84							-.16***
8. Conservative voting	0.11	0.32							
County-level variables	*M*	*SD*	10.	11.	12.				
9. Pro-LGBT SMOs	0.04	0.21	-.21***	.44***	-.26***				
10. Conservative ideological climate	0.52	0.10		-.21***	.11*				
11. City county	0.20	0.40			-.30***				
12. Unemployment (%)	10.30	4.83							

Note. For the association between SMOs and city county, the value of ϕ coefficient was reported. The remaining entries are Pearson's *r* coefficients or point-biserial correlations.

*** $p < .001$. * $p < .05$.

7.1.2.2. Main analyses

7.1.2.2.1. Analytical strategy

Next, we moved to the formal tests of our hypotheses (i.e., H1, H4-H9). Due to the two-level structure of the data (individuals nested within counties) [39], our analyses were embedded in a multilevel modeling (MLM) framework. To test hypotheses H5, H7, H8 and H9, we had to adopt an analytical technique that would be suitable for examining indirect effects within a hierarchical data structure. Our choice was multilevel structural paradigm (MSEM; Preacher, Zyphur, & Zhang, 2010) that allows for testing mediation hypotheses with 2-level nested data. In this framework, the variance of observed level-1 variables is partitioned into within- and between- latent component, which allows for testing multilevel mediations. Similar to analyses performed in Study 1, we employed MLR estimator to adjust for the violations of the multivariate normality condition.[40]

To make sure that multilevel modeling framework was appropriate for the current data, we first computed intraclass correlations (ICCs) for network embeddedness, in-group identification and collective action. ICC is a ratio of between-cluster variance of the analyzed variable to its total variance. While a nonsignificant ICC (i.e., ICC value that does not differ

[39] The current data could be also structured to have three levels of analysis (individuals nested within counties and counties nested within voivodships). As shown by Kuppens and Pollet (2014), failure to recognize the clustering of level-2 units can bias the estimates and conclusions based on multilevel models. However, the supplementary analyses showed that the voivodships level did not account for the substantial amount of variance in collective action, in-group identification or group embeddedness (*p*s > .166 for the respective ICCs). Therefore, we decided to treat counties as independent data points in the following analyses.

[40] Mardia's multivariate skewness (χ^2 = 30513, $p < .001$) and kurtosis (Z = 77.70, $p < .001$) tests revealed the violation of multivariate normality condition.

from 0) demonstrates that observations within clusters (counties in the present study) are no more similar than observations from different clusters (making multilevel modeling unnecessary), significant ICC reflects the substantial amount of dependence between the observations (Hox, 2010).

As shown by statistically significant ICC coefficients, collective action (*ICC* = .03, 95% *CI* [.01, .05], $p < .001$) and network embeddedness (*ICC* = .06, *SE* = .01, 95% *CI* [.04, .09], $p < .001$) differed across counties. By contrast, the ICC for in-group identification did not reach significance (*ICC* = .01, *SE* = .01, 95% *CI* [-.02, .03], $p = .432$), suggesting that inter-county differences could not explain variability in this measure. This result prompted us to reject H8 and H9; since there was no inter-county variability in in-group identification, in-group identification could not explain the potential relationship between SMOs (county-level property) and individual engagement (Preacher et al., 2010). Thus, we specified an MSEM solution that decomposed the variances of network embeddedness and collective action but not the variance of in-group identification (Figure 7). In this model, SMOs, which served as the county-level predictor, had only a between component of variance (i.e., it did not vary within the clusters). In-group identification – individual-level property – had only a within component of variance (as indicated by the nonsignificant ICC it did not vary between the clusters). On the other hand, the variance of network embeddedness and collective action – the individual-level variables – was partitioned into between- and within-level components. The indirect effect assumed in H7 (i.e. pro-LGBT SMOs increase LGBT individuals' engagement by fostering network embeddedness) involved the between-level effect of SMOs on network embeddedness (path *a* in Figure 7) and the between-level effect of network embeddedness on collective action (path *bb* in Figure 7). On the other hand, the indirect effect proposed in H5 (i.e. network embeddedness increases LGBT individuals' collective action by enhancing in-group identification) was comprised of the within-level effect of network

embeddedness on in-group identification (path *d* in Figure 7) and in-group identification effect on collective action (path *e* in Figure 7).

We verified our hypotheses in four steps. First, to test H6 stating that pro-LGBT SMOs increase collective action among LGBT individuals, collective action was regressed on SMOs (Table 7, Model 1). Next, network embeddedness was added into the model (Table 7, Model 2), which allowed us to test H4 (i.e. network embeddedness increases collective action among LGBT individuals) and H7. Importantly, since network embeddedness could vary on both levels of analysis, we could test its contextual (compositional) effect. As defined by Raudenbush and Bryk (2002, p. 139), contextual effects "occur when the aggregate of a person-level characteristic is related to the outcome, even after controlling for the effect of the individual characteristic." The positive contextual effect of network embeddedness would suggest that, regardless of participants' own embeddedness in the LGBT social movement, they would be more likely to engage in collective action if the average network embeddedness in their county is high. Model 3 tested the solution presented in Figure 7. In addition to the variables included in Model 2, Model 3 involved in-group identification as a within mediator of network embeddedness effect on collective action. Thus, it allowed us to verify H5. In the last step (Table 7, Model 4), individual- and county-level covariates were added to the model. Parametric bootstrap (Efron & Tibshirani, 1986) with 20,000 repetitions was used to estimate confidence intervals for the indirect effects. To perform this procedure, we employed the web-based utility provided by Selig and Preacher (2008). Prior to main analyses, individual-level continuous predictors were mean-centered.

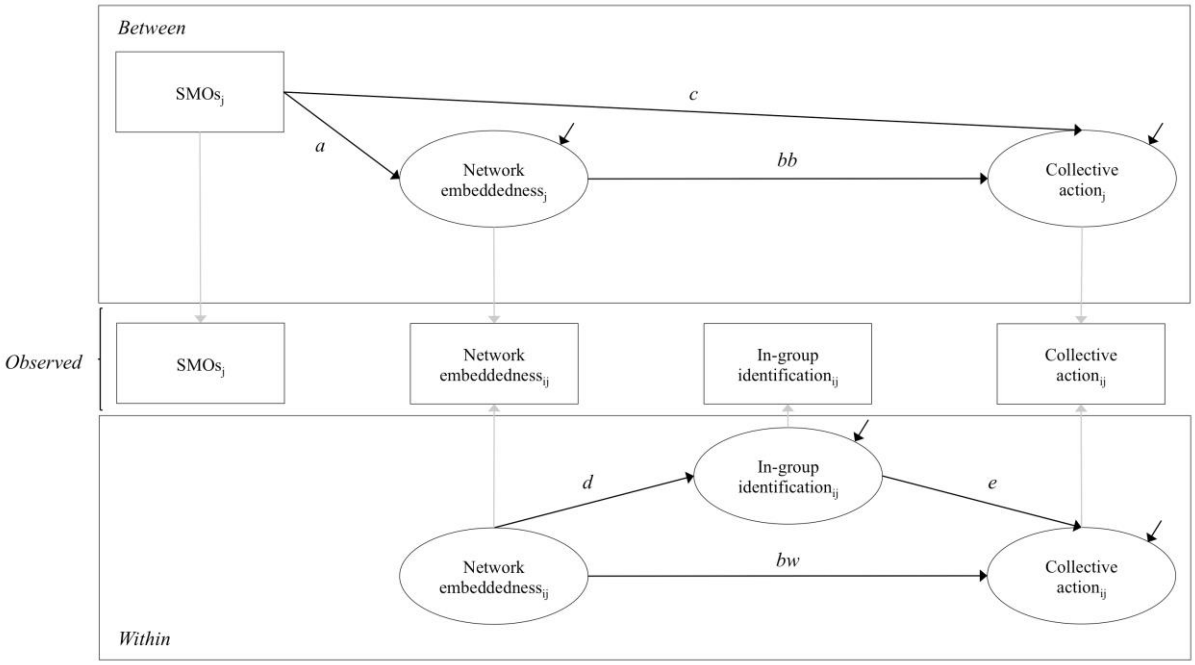

Figure 7. The MSEM solution tested in Study 2.

Note. Adapted from Preacher, Zyphur and Zhang (2010).

7.1.2.2.2. Hypotheses testing

As shown in Model 1 (Table 7), SMOs (a county-level property) predicted collective action (individual-level characteristic) positively (B = 0.23, SE = 0.10, 95% CI [0.03, 0.43], p = .023), which confirmed H6. In comparison to the residents of counties with no LGBT SMOs, individuals living in the areas where the LGBT social movement had been institutionalized were more likely to engage in collective action.

When network embeddedness was added into the model (Table 7, Model 2), SMOs no longer exerted a significant effect on the DV, B = -0.01, SE = 0.08, 95% CI [-0.17, 0.16], p = .952. At the same time, network embeddedness predicted collective action positively both on the within- (B = 0.37, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [0.35, 0.38], p < .001) and the between-level of analysis (B = 0.38, SE = 0.07, 95% CI [0.24, 0.52], p < .001). As such, LGBT individuals who knew more (rather than less) activists displayed stronger intentions to act on behalf of their in-group, which was in line with H4. Furthermore, counties with higher average network

embeddedness were characterized by higher collective action intentions. Importantly, since the between-level network embeddedness was predicted positively by SMOs (B = 0.58, SE = 0.19, 95% CI [0.22, 0.95], p = .002), there was a positive indirect effect of SMOs on collective action by network embeddedness, IE = 0.22, SE = 0.08, 95% CI [0.07, 0.37], Z = 2.90, p = .004. Thus, H7 received support.

Since, similarly to other continuous predictors, network embeddedness was grandmean-centered prior to the analysis, the between-level effect of this variable could be interpreted in contextual terms (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). As such, there was a positive contextual effect of network embeddedness on collective action – when the individual degree of network embeddedness was controlled for, participants living in counties with higher average network embeddedness were more likely to engage in collective action on behalf of their in-group.

As demonstrated in Model 3 (Table 7), the within-level effect of network embeddedness on the DV decreased when in-group identification was introduced to the equation, B = 0.28, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [0.27, 0.30], p < .001. In line with H5, within-level network embeddedness exerted a positive effect on in-group identification (B = 0.20, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [0.18, 0.22], p < .001) and in-group identification served as the positive predictor of collective action (B = 0.42, SE = 0.02, 95% CI [0.38, 0.45], p < .001), giving the positive within-level indirect effect of network embeddedness on engagement by in-group identification, IE = 0.08, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [0.07, 0.09], Z = 16.53, p < .001. The between-level indirect effect of SMOs on collective action via network embeddedness remained significant, IE = 0.18, SE = 0.07, 95% CI [0.06, 0.32], Z = 2.71, p = .007.

Table 7

The effect of SMOs on network embeddedness and collective action (Study 2)

	Model 1	Model 2	
Predicted variables	Collective action	Network embeddedness	Collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	4.39 (0.05)***	-0.70 (0.07)***	4.64 (0.07)***
Individual level (IL) effects			
In-group identification			
Network embeddedness			0.37 (0.01)***
Conservative voting			
Age			
Education			
Subjective economic situation			
Settlement size			
Lesbian			
Bisexual man			
Bisexual woman			
Transgender person			
County level (CL) effects			
Network embeddedness			0.38 (0.07)***
Pro-LGBT SMOs	0.23 (0.10)*	0.58 (0.19)**	-0.01 (0.08)
Conservative ideological climate			
City county			
Unemployment			
IL variation of the predicted variable	2.95 (0.05)***	4.96 (0.10)***	
CL variation of the predicted variable	4.39 (0.05)***	0.26 (0.05)***	
-2 log-likelihood	15980.65	32897.50	

Note. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Age divided by 10. Gay men served as a reference category for LGBT subgroup.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 7 (continued)

The effects of SMOs and conservative ideological climate on network embeddedness and collective action (Study 2)

	Model 3		
Predicted variables	Network embeddedness	In-group identification	Collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	-0.67 (0.07)***	0.00 (0.03)	4.64 (0.05)***
Individual level (IL) effects			
In-group identification			0.42 (0.02)***
Network embeddedness		0.20 (0.01)***	0.28 (0.01)***
Conservative voting			
Age			
Education			
Subjective economic situation			
Settlement size			
Lesbian			
Bisexual man			
Bisexual woman			
Transgender person			
County level (CL) effects			
Network embeddedness			0.34 (0.06)***
Pro-LGBT SMOs	0.53 (0.18)**		-0.02 (0.07)
Conservative ideological climate			
City county			
Unemployment			
IL variation of the predicted variable	4.97 (0.10)***	2.05 (0.05)***	1.95 (0.04)***
CL variation of the predicted variable	0.25 (0.06)***		0.002 (0.01)
-2 log-likelihood		46996.55	

Note. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Age divided by 10. Gay men served as a reference category for LGBT subgroup.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 7 (continued)

The effects of SMOs and conservative ideological climate on network embeddedness and collective action (Study 2)

	Model 4		
Predicted variables	Network embeddedness	In-group identification	Collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	0.80 (0.44)	0.09 (0.04)**	4.95 (0.26)***
Individual level (IL) effects			
In-group identification			0.36 (0.02)***
Network embeddedness		0.19 (0.01)***	0.27 (0.01)***
Conservative voting	-1.07 (0.14)***	-0.67 (0.15)***	-0.66 (0.10)***
Age	0.09 (0.04)*	0.02 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.04)
Education	0.06 (0.02)***	-0.02 (0.01)*	-0.001 (0.01)
Subjective economic situation	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Settlement size	0.13 (0.06)*	-0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
Lesbian	0.62 (0.09)***	0.15 (0.05)**	0.56 (0.08)***
Bisexual man	-0.62 (0.19)**	-0.65 (0.14)	-0.26 (0.12)*
Bisexual woman	0.63 (0.09)***	-0.08 (0.07)	0.55 (0.07)***
Transgender person	0.97 (0.25)***	-0.35 (0.18)	0.33 (0.12)**
County level (CL) effects			
Network embeddedness			0.42 (0.10)***
Pro-LGBT SMOs	0.42 (0.20)*		-0.12 (0.09)
Conservative ideological climate	-1.41 (0.78)		-0.65 (0.44)
City county	-0.73 (0.19)***		-0.03 (0.14)
Unemployment	-0.03 (0.02)		0.02 (0.01)
IL variation of the predicted variable	4.62 (0.16)***	1.88 (0.06)***	1.75 (0.05)***
CL variation of the predicted variable	0.12 (0.04)**		0.002 (0.002)
-2 log-likelihood		30519.38	

Note. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Age divided by 10. Gay men served as a reference category for LGBT subgroup.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Adding covariates into the model (Table 7, Model 4) did not affect the present results in a substantive way. SMOs still increased collective action by heightening between-level network embeddedness, *IE* = 0.18, *SE* = 0.08, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.35], *Z* = 2.14, *p* = .032. Likewise, within-level network embeddedness increased collective action by strengthening in-group identification, *IE* = 0.07, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.06, 0.08], *Z* = 10.33, *p* < .001.

7.1.2.3. Supplementary analyses

Robustness of the present results may raise at least three different types of doubts. The potential bias may be attributed to suboptimal measurement, large amount of missing data or model misspecification. Below, we report supplementary analyses that address each of these issues.

One could argue that present results are biased due to the content overlap between the measures of in-group identification and network embeddedness. Specifically, the item "I have a lot in common with other LGBTA individuals", which represents the Ties factor in Cameron's (2004) social identity model, could have inflated the relationship between in-group identification and embeddedness in an activist network. To account for this possibility, we repeated the analyses using a two-item version of the in-group identification scale (*r* = .59; *p* < .001; *M* = 5.18; *SD* = 1.60)[41]. Employing a purged measure of in-group identification did not change the conclusions in a substantive way. The within-level effect of network embeddedness on collective action was still mediated by in-group identification, *IE* = 0.07, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.06, 0.08], *Z* = 14.74, *p* < .001. Likewise, the indirect effect of SMOs on

[41] Similarly to the full measure of in-group identification, the two-item measure of this variable did not exhibit significant amount of variance at the level of counties, *ICC* = .01, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-.01, .02], *p* = .455.

engagement via between-level network embeddedness also remained significant, *IE* = 0.18, *SE* = 0.07, 95% *CI* [0.05, 0.31], *Z* = 2.72, *p* = .007.

Second, our conclusions could be distorted due to the considerable amount of missing data. To check this was the case, we repeated the key analyses using multiple imputation technique (Enders, 2010) with 10 imputed datasets. The results we obtained did not deviate in a meaningful way from those reported before. The within-level indirect effect of network embeddedness on collective action by the increase via in-group identification was positive and significant, *IE* = 0.09, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.07, 0.09], *Z* = 16.33, *p* < .001. Moreover, SMOs exerted a positive effect on engagement via between-level network embeddedness, *IE* = 0.17, *SE* = 0.08, 95% *CI* [0.04, 0.34], *Z* = 2.10, *p* = .036.

Finally, it is possible to consider the current data in terms of a cross-level interaction (Preacher, Curran, & Bauer, 2006) rather than a cross-level mediation. Specifically, one could conceive SMOs as a county-level moderator that shapes the relationships between individual-level variables. It seems plausible, for instance, that the presence of a pro-LGBT SMO in a given county would enhance network embeddedness' positive effect on collective action – knowing an activist may inspire individual engagement to a greater extent in the counties where SMOs stage collective action events. To explore this possibility, we performed a series of models, where the relationships between individual-level variables were allowed to differ between the counties (i.e. random-coefficient models; see Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). As shown by the results, none of considered within-level effects – the positive effect of network embeddedness on collective action (τ = 0.00, *SE* = 0.002, *Z* = 0.209, *p* = .835), the positive effect of network embeddedness on in-group identification (τ = 0.001, *SE* = 0.00, *Z* = 1.90, *p* = .058) and the positive effect of in-group identification on engagement (τ = 0.002, *SE* = 0.003, *Z* = 0.75, *p* = .451) – exhibited significant county-level variance. As such, the within-

level relationships between particular variables could not be explained by any between-level variable. Consequently, SMOs did not operate as a county-level moderator.

7.1.3. Discussion

Study 2 sought to reveal the mechanisms through which pro-LGBT network embeddedness and pro-LGBT SMOs – two structural variables located at different levels of analysis – affect engagement of LGBT individuals. Below, we summarize the key findings and discuss their implications.

In accordance with our predictions (H6 and H4, respectively), both pro-LGBT SMOs and embeddedness in the network of LGBT activists proved to exert positive effects on collective action among the members of sexual and gender minorities. LGBT individuals, who knew more activists or lived in the counties where LGBT rights movement had been institutionalized, exhibited higher intentions to actively confront sexual stigma. Two processes responsible for these effects were identified. In line with H7, pro-LGBT SMOs stimulated engagement by increasing embeddedness in activist network. In other words, local organizations representing LGBT rights movement facilitated collective action among the members of sexual and gender minorities by fostering stronger embeddedness in the network of LGBT activists. At the same time, within-level network embeddedness stimulated collective action by enhancing in-group identification, which confirmed H5. As such, LGBT individuals who had personal connections with LGBT activists manifested stronger engagement intentions than their isolated counterparts due to stronger in-group identification. Importantly, this effect did not depend on the place of residence.

However, not all our predictions received support from the data. Specifically, since in-group identification did not show substantive amount of variability between the counties, it could not mediate the relationship between pro-LGBT SMOs and collective action. Therefore,

three hypotheses formulated in Chapter 3 had to be rejected. First, pro-LGBT SMOs did not enhance in-group identification among the members of sexual and gender minorities (H9). Second, the positive effect of SMOs on collective action was not mediated by the increase of in-group identification (H10). Third, there was no serial indirect effect of SMOs on the DV by network embeddedness and in-group identification (H8).

The current findings add to the literature in several ways. First, by revealing SMOs as a distal antecedent of engagement, Study 2 substantiates the postulate to perceive SMOs as the supply-side of mobilization process (Klandermans, 2004). In line with past theorizing, SMOs proved to create an environment that facilitates individual participation. This result seems especially important for social psychological collective action literature that tends to neglect contextual antecedents of engagement (van Zomeren, 2016a). Our findings clearly suggest that features of social structure (e.g. community institutional arrangements) potentiate individual protest behaviour, and as such should be taken into account in collective action research.

The positive effect of SMOs on engagement contributes also to LGBT-related literature. Although previous studies have acknowledged the role that SMOs play in stimulating LGBT activism, they did so by considering SMOs through the lens of membership (e.g., Swank & Fahs, 2013b). Thus, what they could demonstrate at most was that *individuals* who belong to pro-LGBT SMOs are more likely to engage on behalf of their in-group. By treating SMOs as the county-level property, Study 2 captures the influence that local social movement institutions may exert on whole *communities*. This is in line with the premises of minority stress theory, which posits LGBT SMOs as an element of community-level resilience (e.g. Meyer, 2015). Specifically, by inspiring collective action, pro-LGBT SMOs seem to serve as a community resource that facilitates active coping with sexual stigma.

Importantly, the present findings point to network embeddedness as the mechanism through which pro-LGBT SMOs stimulate individual protest behaviour. The intervening role of network embeddedness fits well with the past literature that posited activist networks as the conduit of mobilization attempts made by SMOs (e.g., Kim & Bearman, 1997; Kitts, 2000; Klandermans, 1997, 2004; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; Klandermans et al., 2008; Passy & Monsch, 2014) or, in a more general sense, proposed to consider social networks as a bridge between structural factors and individual properties (e.g., Granovetter, 1973). At the same time, to our best knowledge, Study 2 is unique in presenting the intervening character of networks in a cross-level mediation framework. As such, it provides strong empirical evidence on the relationship that has been already indicated in the collective action literature.

Moreover, by revealing that in-group identification mediates the positive within-level relationship between network embeddedness and collective action, Study 2 responds to the recent call for elucidating psychological mechanisms through which social networks facilitate engagement (Passy & Monsch, 2014). Demonstrating changes in individuals' cognitive toolkit as responsible for the association between network embeddedness and collective action seems especially important from the perspective of social movement literature that suffers from "structural bias" – the preoccupation with formal organizations or large-scale political structures at the expense of psychological concepts such as identities or emotions (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999). Specifically, the intervening role of in-group identification registered in the current study introduces a psychological element to the relationship between objective circumstances (i.e., embeddedness in activistis' network) and individual behaviour (i.e., collective action). At the same time, since in-group identification serves only as a partial mediator, present results do not preclude other intervening mechanisms. The direct effect of network embeddedness on collective action may reflect, for example, information acquisition

– a widely postulated ingredient of mobilization process (e.g., Kitts, 2000; Kim & Bearman, 1997).

It should be noted that the significant mediation effect via in-group identification adds to the literature on LGBT activism. Although in-group identification was suggested as the link between structural availability and collective action in the past research (e.g., Swank & Fahs, 2016), the indirect effect has not been tested in a formal way. Study 2 fills this gap.

Finally, our findings contribute to the literature by demonstrating that network embeddedness facilitates collective action not only directly, but also contextually, whereby one's engagement depends on community-level network embeddedness. In other words, Study 2 shows that LGBT individuals living in counties where knowing LGBT activists is more (rather than less) prevalent show stronger intentions to engage in collective action. Thus, this is not only the personal network of a given individual, but also the ego networks of local community residents (that, taken together, comprise the whole network of the local LGBT community) that fuel engagement among sexual and gender minorities. Perhaps, the contextual effect of network embeddedness reflects the diffusion of mobilization frames and positive norms towards LGBT activism. Similar to shifts in other types of attitudes and behaviors (Marineau, Labianca, & Kane, 2016), changes in collective action and its psychological antecedents may occur along indirect ties. For example, one may participate in a protest event not only because of the direct relationship with an activist, but also because he or she has a friend who knows an activist. The mechanisms behind such effects should be similar to those operating in the case of direct ties. The only difference seems to rely on the presence of an intermediary actor (or actors) who transmits the engagement-related information and beliefs. Since the probability of indirect ties with activists should be higher in communities where the average number of known activists is relatively high, we find it plausible that such indirect relationships at least partially account for the contextual effect of

network embeddedness registered in Study 2. Nevertheless, this explanation should be examined in future research – for example, by asking respondents whether their friends and acquaintances know any activists.[42]

Beyond their theoretical implications, current results speak directly to the practice of collective action. First, they highlight the importance of setting up local SMOs. In line with the literature (Klandermans, 2004), SMOs seem necessary to transform discontent with the status quo to deliberate protest behaviour, capable of influencing authorities or other social actors. Consequently, establishing an organizational base should be one of the first steps the activists take in order to change their local communities. Second, our findings stress the role of social networks in mobilizing broad participation in collective action events. Contextual and within-level effects of network embeddedness suggest that, instead of forming insulated cliques, activists should make an effort to establish ties with the maximally large number of non-activists. Such ties may not only mobilize the unengaged partners, but also exert indirect influence on the acquaintances of these partners. Moreover, in LGBT contexts relationships with activists may facilitate the development of in-group identity, which, due to sexual stigma, is a complex and difficult process (e.g. Cass, 1979, 1984; Troiden, 1989).

Despite offering multiple insights, Study 2 is not free of limitations. First, the one-item measure of network embeddedness seems rather crude; it does not tell anything about the relationships linking study subjects to their engaged acquaintances or the properties of these acquaintances. As such, the present operationalization does not take full advantage of the concept of social networks, whose precise definition is provided within mathematical sociology (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Future collective action research would certainly benefit from using the measurement and analysis methods provided by the social network

[42] This way of assessing indirect ties with activists would be analogical to the measures of extended intergroup contact (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997).

perspective. As suggested by computer simulations, properties of social networks (such as density, size or power distribution) determine whether a given social movement would gain wide social support or not (Gould, 1993; Marwell & Oliver, 1993; Kim & Bearman, 1997). It would be interesting to test these insights against the data collected in the context of LGBT activism.

The operationalization of SMOs also lacks informativeness. In addition to the mere presence of a pro-LGBT SMO in the county of residence, collective action of LGBT individuals may depend on other features of organizational order. For example, engagement may be more common in communities where several pro-LGBT SMOs exist, the average number of collective action events per year is higher or LGBT activism has longer history. Thus, future research should take a more granular perspective on the organizational underpinnings of collective action among sexual and gender minorities.

More attention should be paid to the relationship between context characteristics and identification with LGBT people. As suggested by the present results, this is not the case as far as meso-level properties are concerned; contrary to our expectations, in-group identification did not exhibit substantial amount of inter-county variability, which precluded any attempts to explain this variability. However, it would be too early to conclude that LGBT identity does not depend on external circumstances at all. The strength of in-group identification among the members of sexual and gender minorities may be determined by legal reagulations, which constitute the property of states – the macro-level unit of analysis. Specifically, LGBT individuals may exhibit lower in-group identification in the context characterized by strong institutional stigma. We address this issue in Study 3.

Finally, the cross-sectional character of the present data raises reasonable doubts in terms of causality direction. For instance, while past research (e.g., DiFulvio, 2011; Swank & Fahs, 2016) and theory (e.g. Passy & Monsch, 2014) suggest that network embeddedness

facilitates in-group identification, the opposite effect is also plausible. Specifically, high-identifiers, who are motivated to engage on behalf of their in-group, may seek acquaintances who are activists to gain easier access to collective action events.[43] In a similar vein, the positive correlation between network embeddedness and collective action may reflect the reciprocal effects these variables exert on each other. Namely, knowing activists may facilitate engagement (e.g., Klandermans & Oegema, 1987) to the same extent as participation may increase the number of activists one knows. To disentangle the mutual effects of network embeddedness, in-group identification and collective action, we conducted an additional follow-up study.[44]

7.2. Study 2 follow-up

The follow-up to Study 2 (T2) was conducted after approximately six months since the first measurement (T1). Collecting data over two different time points allowed us to perform a strong test of the causal order implied by H1, H4 and H5. We predicted that, after controlling for the initial level of respective outcome variables, network embeddedness at T1 would increase in-group identification (H5) and collective action (H4) at T2, and that in-group identification at T1 would increase collective action at T2 (H1, H5). At the same time, Study

[43] Such an effect could be classified as a specific case of social selection process, when individuals choose network partners based on the attributes of the latter (Robins, 2015)

[44] Another potentially bidirectional relationship is plausible. Namely, instead of energizing collective action of LGBT minority members (the direction assumed in our analysis), SMOs may develop on the basis off spontaneous, grassroots activism (della Porta, 2014). However, this was not tested in the follow-up study since no LGBT SMOs had been established or dissolved between the measurements. Consequently, SMOs' presence at T2 would correlate perfectly with SMOs' at T1, precluding effects of collective action at T1.

2 follow-up was intended to explore the potentially bidirectional character of the relationships between the variables of interest. As such, we aimed to check whether collective action at T1 increased network embeddedness and in-group identification at T2, and if in-group identification at T1 enhanced network embeddedness at T2.

7.2.1. Method

7.2.1.1. Participants

Out of 5,604 individuals comprising the sample at T1, 2,792 (49.82%) left their e-mail addresses to be contacted for the follow-up measurement. Out of this group, 953 individuals (34.13%) filled in the questionnaire at T2. The sample involved all LGBT subgroups: lesbians (16.9%), gay men (54.3%), bisexual women (16.6%), bisexual men (4.6%), and transgender persons (7.6%) Participants represented 153 unique countie. In comparison to individuals who despite the invitation did not fill in the questionnaire at T2 (n = 1,839), participants of the follow-up study were younger (M = 27.98, SD = 8.83 vs. M = 27.19, SD = 8.06, t(2086.61) = 2.36, p = .018, d = 0.09), better educated (M = 15.27, SD = 3.06 vs. M = 15.56, SD = 2.77, t(2091.49) = -2.52, p = .012, d = -0.10) and less likely to vote for conservative parties, M = 0.11, SD = 0.31 vs. M = 0.08, SD = 0.26, $\chi^2(1) = 4.86$, p = .027, V = -05. There were no differences in terms of subjective economic situation, collective action intentions, in-group identification, or network embeddedness (all ps > .149). Some significant differences, however, emerged on the county-level. In comparison to the counties that dropped out from the sample (n = 180), counties included in the follow-up measurement were more likely to be a city county (M = 0.10, SD = 0.29 vs. M = 0.32, SD = 0.47, $\chi^2(1) = 26.29$, $p < .001$, V = .28), more likely to have a pro-LGBT SMO (M = 0.01, SD = 0.07 vs. M = 0.09, SD = 0.29, $\chi^2(1) = 14.12$, $p < .001$, V = .21) and exhibited lower unemployment (M = 11.53, SD = 4.69. vs. M =

8.87, *SD* = 4.60, $t(331) = 5.19$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.57$). We did not register differences in terms of conservative ideological climate, $p = .294$.

7.2.1.2. Measures

Among other scales (e.g., self-esteem), the online questionnaire included the measures of collective action ($\alpha = .70$), in-group identification ($\alpha = .80$) and network embeddedness. All these variables were assessed as in T1.

The rate of missing data ranged from 0 for in-group identification and collective action at T1 to 14.1% for network embeddedness at T2 (*M* = 6.86%).

7.2.2. Results

7.2.2.1. Preliminary analyses

Prior to performing main analyses, we inspected the descriptives and intercorrelations for the variablies assessed in T1 and T2 (Table 8). The correlation pattern registered at T2 replicated that from T1; network embeddedness correlated positively with in-group identification ($r_{T1} = .30$, $p < .001$; $r_{T2} = .29$, $p < .001$) and collective action ($r_{T1} = .50$, $p < .001$; $r_{T2} = .46$, $p < .001$), and the relationship between in-group identification and collective action was also positive ($r_{T2} = .47$, $p < .001$; $r_{T2} = .40$, $p < .001$). The measures of network embeddedness ($r_{T1T2} = .73$, $p < .001$), in-group identification ($r_{T1T2} = .70$, $p < .001$) and collective action ($r_{T1T2} = .72$, $p < .001$) proved stable over time.

LGBT subgroup differentiated network embeddedness ($F(4, 814) = 7.02$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$), in-group identification ($F(4, 829) = 3.65$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$) and collective action, $F(4, 824) = 11.10$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. While transgender persons knew the largest number of LGBT activists (*M* = 5.60, *SD* = 0.30), lesbians exhibited the strongest in-group identification (*M* = 5.44, *SD* = 1.22) and bisexual women declared the highest intentions to engage in

collective action, *M* = 5.27, *SD* = 1.40. At the same time, bisexual men showed the lowest degree of network embeddedness (*M* = 4.13, *SD* = 0.35), in-group identification (*M* = 4.49, *SD* = 1.68), and collective action intentions (*M* = 3.83, *SD* = 1.82).

7.2.2.2. Main analyses

7.2.2.2.1. Analytical strategy

Given our substantive research question (i.e., the causality flow in the relationships between network embeddedness, in-group identification and collective action), we analysed data using the autoregressive cross-lagged model (Selig & Little, 2012), where all outcome variables at T2 are regressed on themselves (the autoregressive path) and their potential predictors (the cross-lagged paths) at T1 (Figure 8). For the sake of presentation clarity, the main analyses did not account for the observations' interdependence. This issue was handled in supplementary analyses (section 7.2.2.3).

Table 8

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the variables involved in the Study 2 follow-up.

	M	*SD*	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Network embeddedness T1	4.42	2.30	.30***	.50***	.73***	.29***	.46***
2. In-group identification T1	5.23	1.44		.47***	.30***	.70***	.40***
3. Collective action T1	4.83	1.59			.46***	.39***	.72***
4. Network embeddedness T2	4.85	2.24				.32***	.52***
5. In-group identification T2	5.17	1.43					.44***
6. Collective action T2	4.85	0.27					

*** $p < .001$.

7.2.2.2.2. Hypotheses testing

As shown by the results presented in Table 9 and Figure 8, all autoregressive paths on were positive and significant; collective action assessed at T1 predicted collective action at T2 (*B* =0.63, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [0.56, 0.71], $p < .001$), in-group identification measured at T1 was related to in-group identification in T2 (*B* = 0.65, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.59, 0.72], $p < .001$) and network embeddeness at T1 predicted network embeddedness in T2, *B* = 0.66, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.60, 0.71], $p < .001$. Network embeddedness at T1 increased collective action at T2 (*B* = 0.10, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.05, 0.14], $p < .001$), which was in line with H4. However, the reversed effect was also significant; collective action in T1 enhanced network embeddedness at T2, *B* = 0.16, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [0.07, 0.24], $p < .001$. The two effects did not differ in terms of size, $\chi^2(1) = 1.50$, $p = .221$. In line with H5 and H1, network embeddedness at T1 increased in-group identification at T2 (*B* = 0.05, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.08], $p = .009$) and in-group identification at T1 heightened collective action at T2, *B* = 0.09, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.02, 0.15], $p = .012$. By contrast, there was no effect of in-group identification at T1 on network embeddedness at T2, *B* = 0.07, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [-0.01, 0.16], $p = .101$. However, the difference between the paths from T1 network embeddedness to T2 in-group identification and from T1 in-group identification to T2 network embeddedness did not reach significance, $\chi^2(1) = 0.27$, $p = .504$. The same was the case for the in-group indentification-collective action relationship. Although collective action at T1 was unrelated to in-group identification at T2 (*B* = 0.04, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.02, 0.10], $p = .192$), this effect did not differ from the significant path from in-group identification at T1 to collective action at T2, $\chi^2(1) = 0.87$, $p = .351$.

To provide a longitudinal test of H5, we examined if the positive effect of network embeddedness on collective action was mediated by the increase of in-group identification. To this end, an indirect effect was tested in which the path from network embeddedness at T1

(the focal predictor) to in-group identification at T2 (the mediator) was multiplied by the path from in-group identification at T1 (the mediator) to collective action at T2 (the outcome variable; see Cole & Maxwell, 2003; Cichocka et al., 2018; Little, Preacher, Selig, & Card, 2007). While this effect was only marginally significant when the MLR estimator was employed (*IE* = 0.004, *SE* = 0.002, 95% *CI* [0.00, 0.01], *Z* = 1.82, *p* = .068), bias-corrected confidence intervals obtained with bootstrapping (5,000 re-samples) and ML estimator suggested its significance, *IE* = 0.004, *SE* = 0.002, 95% *CI* [0.001, 0.01], *Z* = 1.76, *p* = .078. As such, it was legitimate to conclude that current data lent support to H5.

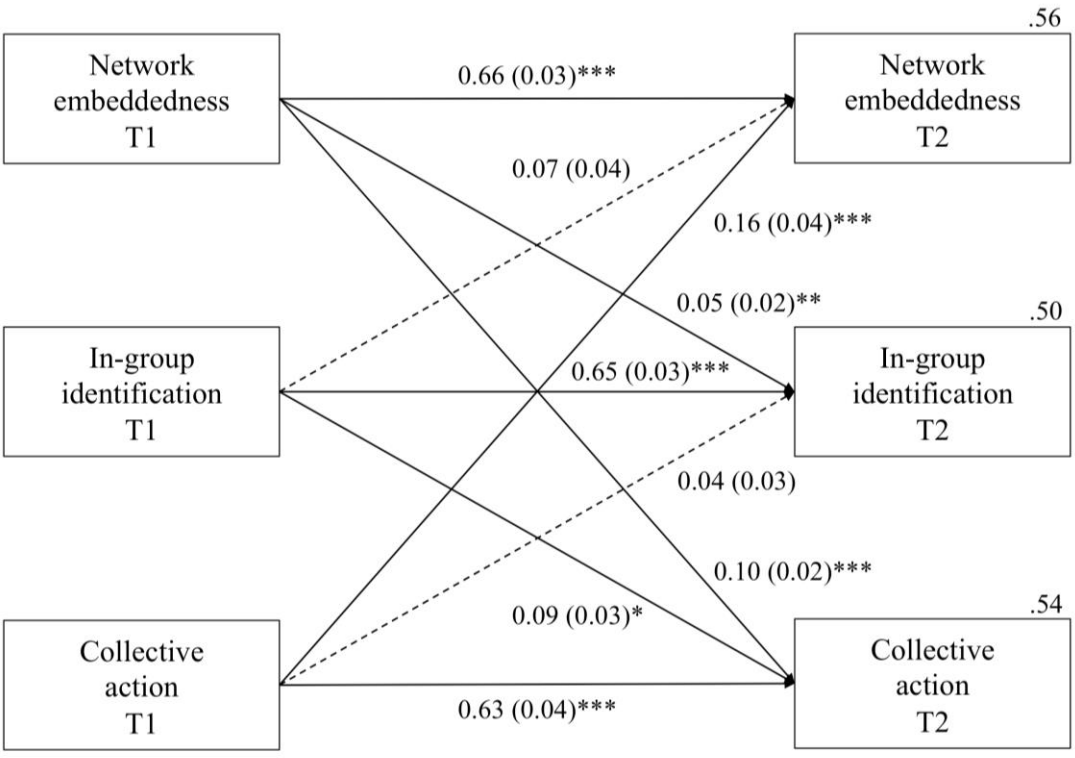

Figure 8. The cross-lagged solution tested on Study 2 follow-up data.

Table 9

The cross-lagged model of network embeddedness, in-group identification and collective action (Study 2)

Predicted variables	Network embeddedness T2	In-group identification T2	Collective action T2
Predictors			
Intercept	4.83 (0.07)***	5.16 (0.03)***	4.85 (0.13)***
Individual level (IL) effects			
Network embeddedness T1	0.61 (0.03)***	0.05 (0.02)**	0.10 (0.02)***
In-group identification T1	0.09 (0.05)	0.65 (0.03)***	0.08 (0.03)*
Collective action T1	0.16 (0.05)**	0.04 (0.03)	0.65 (0.04)***
County level (CL) effects			
Network embeddedness T1	0.96 (0.13)***		
Collective action T1	0.10 (0.53)		
IL variation of the predicted variable	2.21 (0.20)***	1.03 (0.06)***	1.21 (0.14)***
CL variation of the predicted variable	0.01 (0.04)		
-2 log-likehood		18411.71	

Note. Missing data handled with ML. Unstandardized coefficients reported. Standard errors reported in the parentheses.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

7.2.2.3. Supplementary analyses

To check if accounting for a two-level structure of the present data altered the results, we tested an MSEM model that embedded the autoregressive cross-lagged solution presented in Figure 8 in the multilevel modelling framework. Since collective action at T1 (*ICC* = .04, *SE* = .02, 95% *CI* [.003, .07], *p* = .030) as well as network embeddedness at T1 (*ICC* = .11, *SE* = .04, 95% *CI* [.03, .20], *p* = .006) and T2 (*ICC* = .12, *SE* = .04, 95% *CI* [.04, .19], *p* = .004) had significant ICCs, we partitioned the variance of these variables into between- and within- components. The remaining variables were specified to have within-level variance only.

The results did not change meaningfully when the multilevel structure of the data was taken into account. Collective action at T2 was enhanced by in-group identification at T2 (*B* = 0.08, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.02, 0.14], *p* = .011), which confirmed H1. In line with H4, network embeddedness at T1 exerted a positive effect on collective action in T2 (*B* = 0.10, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.06, 0.14], *p* < .001). At the same time, collective action at T1 increased network embeddedness at T2, *B* = 0.16, *SE* = 0.05, 95% *CI* [0.06, 0.26], *p* = .001. Network embeddedness at T1 exerted a positive effect on in-group identification at T2, *B* = 0.05, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.02, 0.08], *p* = .003. The indirect effect of network embeddedness on collective action via in-group identification was positive and significant (*IE* = 0.004, *SE* = 0.002, 95% *CI* [0.001, 0.01], *Z* = 2.09, *p* = .037), which provided support for H5.[45] Neither the effect of collective action at T1 on in-group identification at T2 (*B* = 0.04, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.01, 0.09], *p* = .105), nor the effect of in-group identification at T1 on network embeddedness at T2 (*B* = 0.09, *SE* = 0.05, 95% *CI* [-0.01, 0.19], *p* = .071) reached significance.

[45] Due to the multi-level character of the current model, the confidence intervals for this effect were obtained with parametric bootstrap (20,000 repetitions).

Besides the two-level structure of the data, content overlap between the measures of network embeddedness and in-group identification could also bias our conclusions. To examine if this was the case, we tested an autoregressive cross-lagged model that used the purged measure of in-group identification (with the item assessing in-group ties excluded; $r = .62$, $p < .001$). This modification altered the results to some extent. Specifically, while collective action at T2 was still increased by network embeddedness (*B* = 0.09, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.05, 0.14], $p < .001$) and in-group identification (*B* = 0.09, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.03, 0.15], $p = .004$) at T1, the positive effect of network embeddedness at T1 on in-group identification at T2 lost significance, *B* = 0.03, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.01, 0.07], $p = .100$. Consequently, the indirect effect of network embeddedness via in-group identification on collective action was not significant either, *IE* = 0.003, *SE* = 0.002, 95% *CI* [-0.001, 0.01], $Z = 1.41$, $p = .157$.[46] Moreover, collective action at T1 increased network embeddedness (*B* = 0.17, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [0.08, 0.25], $p < .001$) but not in-group identification at T2 (*B* = 0.04, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.03, 0.11], $p = .226$), and in-group identification at T1 remained unrelated to network embeddedness at T2, *B* = 0.06, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [-0.02, 0.13], $p = .175$.

On the other hand, present findings were not essentialy changed when we handled missing data with multiple imputation (10 imputed datasets). Network embeddedness at T1 increased both in-group identification (*B* = 0.05, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.02, 0.08], $p = .004$) and collective action (*B* = 0.10, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.05, 0.14], $p < .001$) assessed at T2, and in-group identification at T1 facilitated collective action at T2, *B* = 0.08, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.02, 0.15], $p = .015$. The indirect effect of network embeddedness on collective action by in-group identification was marginally significant, *IE* = 0.004, *SE* = 0.002, 95% *CI* [0.00, 0.01],

[46] Using ML and bootstrapping to obtain bias-corrected confidence intervals did not make this effect significant, *IE* = 0.003, *SE* = 0.002, 95% *CI* [0.00, 0.01], $Z = 1.37$, $p = .171$.

Z = 1.89, *p* = .059. At the same time, network embeddedness at T2 was increased by collective action (*B* = 0.16, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [0.07, 0.24], *p* < .001) but not by in-group identification (*B* = 0.08, *SE* = 0.05, 95% *CI* [-0.02, 0.18], *p* = .182) at T1, and in-group identification at T2 did not depend on collective action at T1, (*B* = 0.04, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.02, 0.10], *p* = .214). [47]

7.2.3. Discussion

The aim of the follow-up to Study 2 was to examine the sequencing between network embeddedness, in-group identification and collective action among the large sample of LGBT individuals. In line with our predictions, when the initial level of respective outcome variables was controlled for, collective action at T2 was associated positively with in-group identification and network embeddedness at T1, and network embeddedness at T1 showed a positive association with in-group identification at T2. Importantly, the indirect effect of network embeddedness on engagement by in-group identification was positive and significant. As such, the causal order proposed in H1, H4 and H5 received support from the data. Furthermore, the analyses revealed a positive association between collective action at T1 and network embeddedness at T2. In the following paragraphs, we reflect on the novelty of these findings, consider their theoretical implications and discuss the limitations of our research.

By employing a two-wave longitudinal design, our study responds to the recent call for longitudinal research in the area of LGBT activism (Swank & Fahs, 2016). Moreover, repeated measurement addresses several gaps in the general collective action literature. First, present results provide evidence on the role of network embeddedness as the antecedent of protest behaviour. Although a number of studies consistently reported a positive relationship

[47] Mplus does not allow bootstrapping when multiple imputation is employed.

between network embeddedness and collective action (e.g., Klandermans et al., 2008; Swank & Fahs, 2013b, 2016), because of their cross-sectional design, a causal direction of this relationship could not be clearly established. By showing that network embeddedness increases engagement intentions over time, our findings empirically substantiate prior theorizing on the causal character of activist networks (e.g., Kitts, 2000; Passy & Monsch, 2014).

At the same time, present results show that the reversed effect is also the case; individuals who exhibit high willingness to participate in collective action are more likely to establish ties with activists. As such, our findings suggest that the relationship between network embeddedness and collective action is bidirectional. This is a valuable point because theory and research have focused so far on the effect of network embeddedness on engagement and overlooked the potential influence of protest behaviour on embeddedness in the network of activists. Moreover, the positive longitudinal effect on network embeddedness extends the catalogue of outcomes produced by collective action. Although past studies identified the consequences of engagement (e.g., Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011), none of them, to our knowledge, revealed the post-participation growth of network embeddedness.

Next, the current results elucidate one of the psychological processes behind the positive effect of network embeddedness on protest behaviour. Being interwoven in the network of LGBT activists proved to increase in-group identification among the members of sexual and gender minorities, and in-group identification was demonstrated to stimulate collective action over time. As such, longitudinal data supports the intervening role of in-group identification indicated in the past research (Swank & Fahs, 2016) and the first wave of Study 2 (see section 7.1.2.2.2). Considered as a whole, the two waves of Study 2 make an important step to identify the underlying mechanisms through which particular social ties promote participation (Kitts, 2000).

Furthermore, present work provides insights about another relationship that has been of central importance in the collective action literature. Specifically, it shows that while identification with LGBT people increases collective action over time, engagement does not affect the degree to which LGBT individuals identify with the broad category in-group. These results are partially at odds with those of the longitudinal study by Stürmer and Simon (2004), where the positive cross-lagged path from identification with a gay SMO to collective action was equivalent to its reversed counterpart. We believe that this discrepancy may be attributed to different types of collective identity assessed. While Stürmer and Simon (2004) measured politicized identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001), Study 2 tapped on identification with a broad social category. The literature suggests that while broad category identification serves as a central antecedent of engagement on behalf of one's in-group (van Zomeren et al., 2008), politicized identity may serve both as the precursor and the product of protest engagement (Drury & Reicher, 1999, 2005). By highlighting injustice and defining actors responsible for in-group's predicament, contexts characterized by political struggle, such as elections or collective action events, prompt broad category identities to politicize (Turner-Zwinkels, van Zomeren, & Postmes, 2015). This process explains the positive overtime effect of collective action on politicized identity. On the other hand, it has been revealed that participation in the moderate forms of engagement such as demonstrations does not affect broad category identification (Becker, Tausch, Spears, & Christ, 2011). Similar result has been recently obtained in the context of sexual and gender minorities. In a two-wave longitudinal study conducted by Reimer and colleagues (2017), LGBT individuals' collective action at T1 did not translate onto different aspects of in-group identification at T2. The present study replicates this effect.

Finally, current findings inform our understanding of the relationship between network embeddedness and in-group identification. In line with our predictions, knowing more

activists increased in-group identification over time. This outcome adds weight to the past cross-sectional research (e.g. Swank & Fahs, 2016; Swank et al., 2013) that has already suggested the causal role of network embeddedness in the development of collective identities. At the same time, the cross-lagged effect of in-group identification on network embeddeness was nonsignificant. As such, present results do not support the hypothesis that high-identifiers look for engaged acquaintances. Thus, embeddedness in an activist network seems to result from different processes than social selection based on collective identity (see Robins, 2015).

Notwithstanding our confidence in the present findings, it is necessary to acknowledge their limitations. Most importantly, since data was collected over two rather than three different occasions, we were unable to demonstrate a full longitudinal mediation (Selig & Preacher, 2009) of the network embeddedness – collective action relationship by in-group identification. The most that one may claim given the present data is that two causal relationships comprising this indirect effect (i.e., from network embeddedness to in-group identification and from in-group identification to collective action) proved to occur over time and that the indirect effect construed by the multiplication of specific longitudinal paths was significant. Certainly, future research should use designs with more than two measurements to examine the full longitudinal mediation.

Second, although present results indicate that the relationships between network embeddedness and in-group identification as well as in-group identification and collective action are unidirectional, statistical comparisons of relevant cross-lagged effects were nonsignificant. Thus, current research does not provide strong statistical argument to rule out the bidirectional character of these relationships. Given the relatively small differences in the size of respective effects, one needs a larger sample of LGBT individuals to obtain significant results.

Next, supplementary analyses suggest that the positive relationship between network embeddedness and in-group identification may be attributed to content overlap between the measures of these two constructs. Namely, when in-group ties item was excluded from the in-group identification scale, network embeddedness at T1 no longer predicted in-group identification at T2. We are convinced that, despite sharing some amount of variance, the overlap between network embeddedness and ingroup ties is not complete. Specifically, having numerous ties with other LGBT *individuals* does not mean that a given person has close and numerous relationships with LGBT *activists*. However, as the results of supplementary analyses pose a serious challenge for our conclusions, future research should employ more comprehensive measures of network embeddedness and in-group identification to adjudicate if the positive relationship between these phenomena results solely from the association between network embeddedness and in-group ties.

Finally, we examined only one process through which network embeddedness may stimulate engagement. An interesting avenue for the future research would be to investigate other mechanisms. As noted in Chapter 3, next to enhancing collective identities, ties with activists may inspire protest behaviour by providing information on the upcoming collective action events (Fisher & Boekkooi, 2010; Oegema & Klandermans, 1994), encouraging rejection of system-justifying ideologies (Fernandez & McAdam, 1988; Nepstad, 1997) or satisfying affiliative needs (Jost et al., 2008). It would be interesting to test all these processes simultaneously and compare the explanatory power they have.

CHAPTER 8[48]

STUDY 3

Study 2 showed that context properties play a vital role in stimulating engagement of sexual and gender minorities. By increasing network embeddedness, community-based LGBT SMOs proved to enhance willingness to engage in collective action among LGBT individuals. While this result substantiates our postulate to consider context in collective action research, it does not exhaust the variety of ways in which extra-individual factors may affect engagement. As noted in Chapter 3, LGBT activism may be influenced by both meso- and macro-level phenomena. Whereas Study 2 accounted for the meso-level factors, the role of macro-level properties has not been recognized. In Study 3, we aimed to fill this gap by examining the effects of institutional sexual stigma – a macro-level phenomenon denoting legal discrimination faced by sexual minorities (Hatzenbuehler, 2014; Herek, 2009).

As indicated in the past work, institutional sexual stigma damages mental and physical health of LGBT individuals (for a review, see Hatzenbuehler, 2014). We believe that heterosexist legal arrangements may also impair collective action of LGBT individuals (H11). Based on the rationale presented in Chapter 3, one may specify two potential mechanisms that account for this relationship. First, institutional stigma may decrease engagement by promoting internalized stigma (H12). Second, unfavourable legislation may lower collective action by sequentially enhancing internalized stigma and limiting in-group identification (H13).

[48] This chapter is based on Górska, P., Bilewicz, M., & Winiewski, M. (2017). Invisible to the state. Institutional sexual stigma and collective action of LGB individuals in five East European countries. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *20*, 367-381. Doi: 10.1177/1368430216684646

To test H11-H13, we used data collected in five Eastern European countries: Croatia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. While all of these states share common history (transition from communism to democracy at the end of the 20th century), enjoy similar geopolitical status (i.e., are new EU members) and exhibit comparable level of economic development (WB, 2016), they guarantee different scope of rights and institutional protection to LGBT individuals (ILGA Europe, 2015a, 2015b). The lowest degree of institutional sexual stigma is observed in Croatia, which recognizes registered same-sex partnerships, provides legal hate crime protection and respects the freedom of assembly. Similar, though slightly weaker, rights are guaranteed to LGBT individuals living in Hungary. By contrast, Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania do not acknowledge the relational rights of their LGBT citizens or penalize hate crime based on sexual orientation and gender identity (ILGA Europe 2015a, 2015b).

The origin of these differences may be traced back to the ideology endorsed by political elites just after their countries' accession to the EU. Centre-left ruling parties in Hungary and Croatia went to great lengths to enact registered partnerships, bypassing the principles of the Constitution (Holzhacker, 2012) and the results of national referendum (Slootmaeckers & Touquet, 2016), respectively. On the other hand, conservative authorities in Lithuania (Duvold & Aalia, 2012), Latvia and Poland (O'Dwyer & Schwartz, 2010) were far from willing to mitigate the structural stigmatization of sexual minorities, capitalizing instead on homophobic attitudes in their societies.

From a more general perspective, differences in the strength of institutional stigma may reflect the direction of cultural change in these countries. Modernization – a macro-level process involving shifts towards greater secularization and emancipation (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005) – is closely bound up with the legal status of sexual minorities. Since most world religions, including the three branches of Christianity prevalent in Eastern Europe (i.e.,

Catholic, Protestant and Eastern Orthodox), condemn homosexuality (Pickett, 2009), secularization should facilitate the adoption of progressive laws. Emancipation, which rests on the respect for freedom and equality, should exert similar effects.

The countries we consider in our research manifest different degrees of both emancipation and secularization (WVS, 2016). Importantly, these differences correspond to the extent of structural heterosexism. Latvia and Lithuania – two states with strong institutional stigma – are high on secularization and low on emancipation. Poland, the other country blind to its LGBT citizens, exhibits a low degree of secularization and high level of emancipation. By contrast, Croatia and Hungary, which grant the most extended rights to LGB individuals, have a medium position on both criteria. It seems that when considered separately, neither emancipation nor secularization of a given society is by itself sufficient for legal recognition of sexual minorities. For the latter to occur, these factors have to act in concert.

Besides shaping institutional stigma, society's degree of secularization and emancipation may also affect the collective action of LGBT individuals. For example, since internalized homophobia manifests a positive relationship to religiosity (Herek et al., 2009), it is reasonable to expect that living in a highly religious society would translate into stronger self-stigmatization and lower engagement. On the other hand, emphasis on freedom and equality expressed in the quality of democratic institutions may encourage LGBT individuals to participate in collective action (Norris, 2002). Thus, to assess the unique effects of institutional stigma, both these factors should be taken into account.

8.1. Method

Collective action and its individual-level predictors were examined as part of a larger Internet-based, cross-sectional study of LGBT individuals commissioned by the Campaign

Against Homophobia, a Polish non-governmental gay rights organization. Apart from the scales of internalized homophobia, in-group identification and collective action intentions, the survey questionnaire included the measures of other constructs, such as hate crime experience, life satisfaction or attitudes toward law enforcement institutions (for details see Górska, Bilewicz, & Winiewski, 2016)[49]. Back-translation procedure was used to adapt the original English-worded questionnaire to six languages: Croatian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish and Russian.

8.1.1. Participants

The survey questionnaire was hosted on a dedicated website (http://hatenomore.net). A welcome message presented the survey objectives and assured the participants of data confidentiality. The respondents were offered an opportunity to contact the questionnaire's authors. If desired, the participants could leave their email address and take part in a lottery with financial rewards. The link to the survey was promoted via social media (facebook.com), local LGBTQI organizations newsletters and LGBT portals (e.g., queer.pl).

In total, 1818 adult LGBT individuals completed the survey. Since only lesbian, gay and bisexual participants filled in the internalized homophobia scale, the present sample was restricted to 1,365 respondents (28.9% lesbian women, 45.5% gay men, 20.6% bisexual women, 5.0% bisexual men). Due to disparities in the general population size (and, presumably, in the LGB subpopulation size), each individual country contributed differently to the current sample (Croatia 3.6%, Hungary 7.3%, Latvia 1.8%, Lithuania 5.3%, Poland

[49] The final study report (Górska, Bilewicz, & Winiewski, 2016) focused on hate crime experiences of LGBTQI individuals living in Croatia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. Micro- and macro-level antecedents of collective action were not subjected to detailed analysis.

82.0%)[50]. Table 10 presents the sociodemographic characteristics of participants divided by country.

Table 10

Sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents divided by country

	Age	Education	Settlement size
Croatia	28.70 (8.19)	8.41 (1.17)	6.76 (2.02)
Hungary	28.32 (9.68)	7.90 (1.50)	6.33 (2.19)
Latvia	26.17 (5.35)	8.12 (1.36)	6.80 (2.24)
Lithuania	27.45 (7.35)	8.29 (1.33)	7.12 (1.51)
Poland	24.45 (7.72)	7.34 (1.81)	5.98 (2.26)

Note. Standard deviations are reported in parentheses.

8.1.2. Measures

The wording of all measures matched the respondents' country, gender and sexual orientation declared in the initial part of the questionnaire. The participants' gender was measured with a single item asking them to indicate the gender they identify with. Three responses were available (1 = *male*; 2 = *female*; 3 = *other*). To measure sexual orientation, we asked the participants to choose one of seven options (1 = *lesbian*; 2 = *gay*, 3 = *bisexual*, 4 = *queer*; 5 = *bisexual*; 6 = *heterosexual / straight*; 7 = *other*). As for the remaining measures, the participants indicated their agreement or disagreement with each statement on a scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*), unless otherwise noted. The composite scores were created by averaging responses to items comprising the relevant scale.

[50] It should be noted that the ratio of the study participants to the country general population was similar across all five participating countries.

Independent variable. We employed two alternative measures of institutional sexual stigma. The first of them utilized the Rainbow Europe Index 2015 – an assessment provided by the European division of International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA Europe, 2015b) and applied in past social research (e.g., Kuntz et al., 2015). The original index combines various areas of LGBTQI individuals' legal recognition, such as protection from discrimination and hate crime, relational rights or freedom of expression. In order to tap on legal regulations specific to LGB people, the current study used the refined version of this measure[51]. The values of the adapted index could range from 0 (most progressive law) to 24 (least progressive law). The second measure of institutional sexual stigma drew on the time (in years) that elapsed since the institutionalization of same-sex civil partnerships was introduced in a respective country. The variable was recoded so that higher values reflected greater sexual stigma. The values observed in the present sample ranged from -6 (Hungary) through -1 (Croatia) to 0 (Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland).

Mediators. In-group identification was measured with three items (α_{HR} = .66, α_{HU} = .80, α_{LV} = .60, α_{LT} = .65, α_{PL} = .79) taken from Cameron (2004): "I have a lot in common with other LGBTQI individuals", "I often think about the fact that I am a LGBTQI individual", and "In general, I'm glad to be a LGBTQI individual".

To assess internalized homophobia we used four items (α_{HR} = .80, α_{HU} = .84, α_{LV} = .77, α_{LT} = .68, α_{PL} = .82) taken from the Revised Internalized Homophobia Scale (IHP-R,

[51] The refined version of the Rainbow Europe Index was created by summing up pro-LGB regulations that were absent in a given country (1 = yes, 0 = no), as assessed by ILGA Europe (2015b). The following values were observed: HR = 8, HU = 12, LV = 17, LT = 16, PL = 17. As shown by the additional analyses, using the purged or full version of the Rainbow Europe Index did not affect the substantial conclusions.

Herek et al., 2009)[52]: a) "If someone offered me the chance to be completely heterosexual, I would accept the chance"; b) "I wish I weren't lesbian / gay / bisexual"; c) "I feel that being lesbian / gay / bisexual is a personal shortcoming for me"; d) "I would like to get professional help in order to change my sexual orientation from lesbian / gay / bisexual to straight." The participants recorded their responses on a scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). As revealed by EFA results, internalized homophobia and in-group identification formed two separate factors, explaining 38.82% and 18% of variance, respectively (all cross-loadings < .40).

Dependent variable. Collective action intentions were measured with three items (α_{HR} = .85, α_{HU} = .88, α_{LV} = .73, α_{LT} = .87, α_{PL} = .85): a) "I want to get involved in actions designed to advance the interests of LGBTQI individuals in Croatia / Hungary / Latvia / Lithuania / Poland"; b) "I do not see a need to participate in the actions aimed to improve the position of LGBTQI individuals within Croatian / Hungarian / Latvian / Lithuanian / Polish society" (reverse-scored); c) "I will engage in collective action on behalf of Croatian / Hungarian / Latvian / Lithuanian / Polish LGBTQI people."

Covariates. Individual covariates included LGB subgroup, education, size of settlement and age. All of these variables were demonstrated to predict internalized homophobia, collective action engagement or both in the past research (e.g. Berg et al., 2013; Corcoran et al., 2011; Herek et al., 2009). LGB category was coded on the basis of participants' responses to gender identity and sexual orientation items (1 = *gay men*, 2 = *lesbian women*, 3 = *bisexual men*, 4 = *bisexual women*). Prior to main analysis, the variable

[52] Although IHP-R consists of five items (see section 6.1.2), we decided to exclude the item „I have tried to stop being attracted to women / men" because of its low factor loading (.37) revealed in principal axis EFA. However, even when this item was included in the internalized homophobia index, the study results were not affected in a meaningful way.

was dummy coded so that gay men served as the reference group. Education was assessed by asking the respondents to indicate the highest educational level they had attained (1 = *no formal education*, 2 = *incomplete primary school*, 3 = *complete primary school*, 4 = *incomplete secondary school: technical/vocational type*, 5 = *complete secondary school: technical/vocational type*, 6 = *incomplete secondary school: university-preparatory type*, 7 = *complete secondary school: university-preparatory type*, 8 = *some university-level education, without degree*, 9 = *university-level education with a degree*). Size of settlement was recorded on an 8-point scale (1 = *less than 2,000 residents*, 2 = *2,000 – 4,999 residents*, 3 = *5,000 – 9,999 residents*, 4 = *10,000 – 19,999 residents*, 5 = *20,000 – 49,999 residents*, 6 = *50,000 – 99,999 residents*, 7 = *100,000 – 499,999 residents*, 8 = *500,000 residents and more*). The participants' age was calculated on the basis of the declared year of birth.

Contextual covariates involved societal level of religiosity and quality of democracy – potential alternatives for institutional sexual stigma as the antecedent of LGB activism. Religiosity was operationalized as the proportion of Christians in a given society (PRC, 2011). To assess the quality of democracy, we applied the Democracy Index provided by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU, 2015). The index assesses five areas of political system functioning (i.e., electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, political participation, political culture and the functioning of government) and has been successfully used in prior research (e.g., Brandt, 2013). The possible values range from 1 (*authoritarian regime*) to 10 (*full democracy*).

The rate of missing data for individual-level variables ranged from 0 for internalized homophobia, in-group identification and collective action to 2.2% for age (M = 0.65%). There was no missing data for contextual variables.

8.2. Results

8.2.1. Preliminary analyses

Table 11 displays means, standard deviations and intercorrelations for variables measured in the current study. Institutional stigma assessed with the refined Rainbow Europe Index correlated negatively with collective action (r = -.06, p = .031) and positively with internalized homophobia, r = .10, p < .001. On the other hand, the relationship between this variable and in-group identification was not significant, r = -.04, p = .125. Time-based operationalization of institutional stigma correlated positively with internalized homophobia (r = .09, p < .001) and remained unrelated to collective action (r = -.04, p = .098) and in-group identification, r = -.04, p = .092. In line with H1 and the results of Study 1, collective action correlated negatively with internalized homophobia (r = -.20, p < .001). Furthermore, in-group identification correlated positively with collective action (r = .38, p < .001) and negatively with internalized homophobia (r = -.31, p < .001), which was in line with the results of Studies 1 and 2.

Collective action (F(3, 1361) = 9.12, p < .001, η_p^2 =.02), in-group identification (F(3, 1361) = 5.43, p = .001, η_p^2 = .01) and internalized homophobia (F(3, 1361) = 5.75, p = .001, η_p^2 = .01) were differentiated by LGB subgroup. Similar to the findings in Studies 1 and 2, bisexual men manifested the lowest willingness to engage in collective action (M = 4.13, SD = 0.20), the weakest in-group identification (M = 4.90, SD = 0.09) and the highest degree of internalized homophobia, M = 1.83, SD = 0.11. On the other hand, lesbians exhibited the strongest in-group identification (M = 5.13, SD = 0.08) and the weakest internalized homophobia (M = 1.45, SD = 0.77), while bisexual women declared the highest engagement intentions, M = 5.11, SD = 0.10. Due to the significant effects of LGB category on the mediators and the DV, we involved this variable in the further analyses as a covariate.

Table 11

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the variables assessed in Study 3

	M	*SD*	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Collective action	4.87	1.66	.38***	-.20***	-.11***	-.07*	-.03	.02	-.03	-.06*	-.04
2. In-group identification	4.97	1.52		-.31***	-.03	-.04	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.04	-.04
3. Internalized homophobia	1.57	0.87			-.01	.03	-.03	.02	.06*	.10***	.09***
4. Age	25.05	7.94				.26***	.18***	-.10***	-.05*	-.16***	-.15***
5. Education	7.48	1.77					.32***	-.09***	.05	-.12**	-.06*
6. Settlement size	6.11	2.23						-.05*	.05*	-.06*	-.01
7. Societal religiosity	0.92	0.06							-.06*	.33***	.50***
8. Quality of democracy	7.10	0.15								.43***	.57***
9. Institutional sexual stigma: Rainbow Index	16.22	2.05									.71***
10. Institutional sexual stigma: Time since the implementation of civil unions	-0.54	1.67									

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

8.2.2. Main analyses[53]

8.2.2.1. Analytical strategy

To verify our hypotheses, we performed a series of saturated path models using MLR estimation.[54] In Model 1, we checked if the presence of institutional sexual stigma (as assessed with the refined Rainbow Europe Index) affected collactive action, which allowed us to test H11. In Model 2, internalized homophobia and in-group identification were added as the sequential mediators. By testing two indirect effects of institutional stigma (i.e., through internalized homophobia as well as through internalized homophobia and in-group identification), we could verify H12 and H13. Then (Model 3), covariates (i.e., LGB subcategory, age, education, size of settlement, societal level of religiosity and quality of democracy) were introduced into the equation. Prior to analysis, predictors were mean-centered.

Following the strategy employed in Study 1, we estimated two sets of confidence intervals for the indirect effects –those obtained with MLR and with bootstrapping (5,000 re-samples and ML estimator).

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[53] Results presented in this section are slightly different than those reported in Górska, Bilewicz, & Winiewski (2017). The discrepancies are due to the different statistical methods applied in the original paper and the present dissertation. While in the original paper the data was handled with OLS regression, to remain consistent with the other studies presented in this dissertation, we employed path analysis with MLR estimator. It should be stressed, however, that the change of an analytical method did not affect the conclusions in any way.

[54] As shown by Mardia's multivariate skewness ($\chi^2 = 14012.94$, $p < .001$) and kurtosis ($Z = 75.38$, $p < .001$) tests, the present data was not multivariate normal.

8.2.2.2. Hypotheses testing

As shown in Model 1 (Table 12), structural stigma predicted collective action negatively (*B* = -0.05, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.09, -0.01], *p* = .028), which corroborated H11. When the mediators were introduced into the model (Table 12, Model 2, Figure 9), institutional stigma exerted a positive effect on internalized homophobia (*B* = 0.04, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.02, 0.06], *p* < .001), but did not predict either in-group identification (*B* = -0.02, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [], *p* = .263) or collective action, *B* = -0.02, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.06, 0.02], *p* = .258. At the same time, internalized homophobia served as a negative predictor of in-group identification (*B* = -0.54, *SE* = 0.05, 95% *CI* [-0.63, -0.44], *p* < .001) and collective action, *B* = -0.15, *SE* = 0.06, 95% *CI* [-0.26, -0.04], *p* = .007. Finally, in-group identification exerted a positive effect on the DV, *B* = 0.40, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.34, 0.46], *p* < .001.

Institutional sexual stigma diminished engagement intentions by strengthening internalized homophobia – *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.003, 95% *CI* [-0.012, -0.001], *Z* = -2.23, *p* = .026 – which was in line with H12. [55] At the same time, the sequential indirect effect of institutional sexual stigma on collective action intentions via internalized homophobia and in-group identification was significant, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.002, 95% *CI* [-0.013, -0.005], *Z* = 3.94, *p* < .001.[56] Discriminatory legal arrangements inhibited collective action intentions by strengthening internalized homophobia and subsequently mitigating in-group identification, which attested to H13. Furthermore, internalized homophobia decreased collective action by suppressing in-group identification (*IE* = -0.21, *SE* = 0.03, 95% CI [-0.27,

[55] Using the ML estimator and bootstrapping did not change the significance of this effect, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.003, 95% *CI* [-0.013, -0.002], *Z* = -2.23, *p* = .026.

[56] The effect was significant also when the ML estimator and bootstrapping were used, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.002, 95% *CI* [-0.014, -0.005], *Z* = -3.88, p < .001.

-0.16], Z = -8.07, p < .001)[57], which supported H3 and replicated the results obtained in Study 1 (see Chapter 6).

In Model 3 (Table 12), we introduced the covariates into the equation. The sequential indirect effect of institutional stigma via internalized homophobia and in-group identification remained negative and significant, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.003, 95% *CI* [-0.014, -0.004], Z = -3.38, p = .001.[58] Likewise, institutional stigma still suppressed engagement by enhancing internalized homophobia, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.003, 95% *CI* [-0.01, 0.00], Z = -2.03, p = .043.[59]

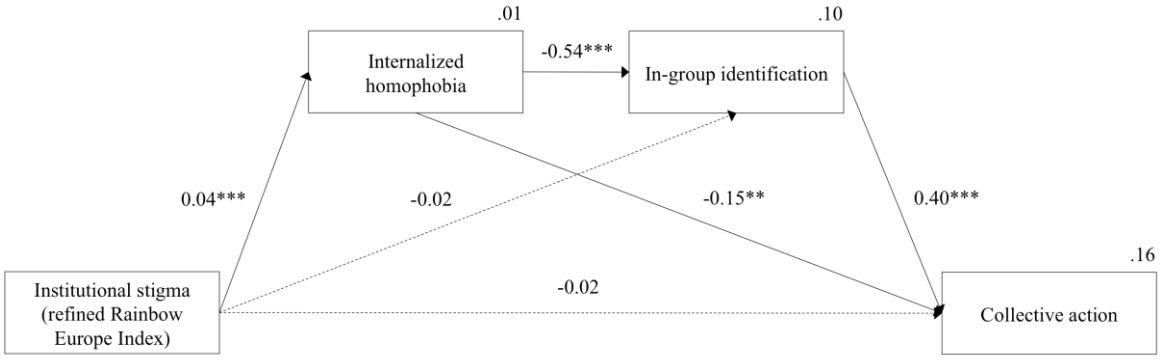

Figure 9. Indirect effects of institutional stigma (refined Rainbow Europe Index) on collective action by internalized homophobia and in-group identification (Study 3, Model 2).

*** p < .001. ** p < .01.

[57] Employing the ML estimator and bootstrapping did not alter the significance of this effect, *IE* = -0.21, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.27, -0.17], Z = -7.96, p < .001.

[58] When estimated with ML and bootstrapping, the effect remained significant, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.003, 95% *CI* [-0.014, -0.004], Z = -3.30, p = .001.

[59] The effect was significant also when ML estimator and bootstrapping were used, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.003, 95% *CI* [-0.013, -0.001], Z = -1.99, p = .046.

Table 12

The effects of institutional sexual stigma (refined Rainbow Europe Index), internalized homophobia and in-group identification on collective action (Study 3)

	Model 1		Model 2	
Predicted variables	Collective action	Internalized homophobia	In-group identification	Collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	4.87 (0.05)***	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.04)	4.87 (0.04)***
Institutional stigma (refined Rainbow Europe Index)	-0.05 (0.02)*	0.04 (0.01)***	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Internalized homophobia			-0.54 (0.04)***	-0.15 (0.06)**
In-group identification				0.40 (0.03)***
Lesbian				
Bisexual woman				
Bisexual man				
Age				
Education				
Settlement size				
Quality of democracy				
Societal religiosity				
-2 log-likelihood	5246.79		13355.34	

Note. Unstandardized coefficients reported. Standard errors reported in the parentheses. Gay men served as the reference category.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 12 (continued)

The effects of institutional sexual stigma (refined Rainbow Europe Index), internalized homophobia and in-group identification on collective action (Study 3)

	Model 3		
Predicted variables	Internalized homophobia	In-group identification	Collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	0.07 (0.04)	0.03 (0.06)	4.78 (0.06)***
Institutional stigma (refined Rainbow Europe Index)	0.04 (0.01)***	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.02)*
Internalized homophobia		-0.53 (0.05)***	-0.14 (0.06)*
In-group identification			0.39 (0.03)***
Lesbian	-0.21 (0.06)***	0.06 (0.09)	0.14 (0.10)
Bisexual woman	-0.10 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.11)	0.32 (0.11)**
Bisexual man	0.17 (0.13)	-0.49 (0.20)*	-0.31 (0.21)
Age	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.17 (0.06)**
Education	0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Settlement size	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.003 (0.02)
Quality of democracy	0.12 (0.16)	0.27 (0.29)	.24 (0.35
Societal religiosity	-0.06 (0.41)	-0.14 (0.57)	1.30 (0.74)
-2 log-likelihood		35997.90	

Note. Unstandardized coefficients reported. Standard errors reported in the parentheses. Gay men served as the reference category.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

8.2.3. Supplementary analyses

Supplementary analyses aimed to establish whether the operationalization of institutional stigma might have had any effect on the results.[60] To this end, we repeated the prior analyses replacing the Rainbow Europe Index with the measure based on the time since the introduction of same-sex civil unions.

When the alternative measure of institutional sexual stigma was employed, results changed to some extent. In Model 1 (Table 13), the effect of institutional stigma on collective action did not reach significance (*B* = -0.04, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.09, 0.02], *p* = .190), which was at odds with H11. However, when the mediators were added into the equation (Table 13, Model 2, Figure 10), institutional stigma lowered collective action by facilitating internalized homophobia and diminishing in-group identification, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.003, 95% *CI* [-0.02, -0.01], *Z* = -3.61, *p* < .001.[61] Thus, H13 received support from the data. At the same time, the institutional stigma lowered engagement solely by increasing internalized homophobia, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.004, 95% *CI* [-0.02, -0.001], *Z* = -2.18, *p* = .029[62], which corroborated H12.

As shown by the results obtained for Model 3 (Table 13), when the covariates were introduced to the model, the results slightly changed. The sequential indirect effect of institutional stigma by internalized homophobia and in-group identification remained

[60] In contrast to the procedure employed in Study 2, we did not perform any analyses with the use of multiple imputation. Since missing data was registered exclusively for covariates, accounting for missingness could not change the results for Models 1 and 2.

[61] The effect was significant also when the ML estimator and bootstrapping were employed, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.003, 95% *CI* [-0.02, -0.01], *Z* = -3.57, *p* < .001.

[62] Using the ML estimator and bootstrapping did not change the significance of this effect, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.004, 95% *CI* [-0.02, -0.002], *Z* = -2.19, *p* = .029.

significant, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.02, -0.004], *Z* = -2.84, *p* = .005.[63] On the other hand, the effect of institutional stigma via internalized homophobia was on the verge of significance, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.02, 0.00], *Z* = -1.95, *p* = .051.[64]

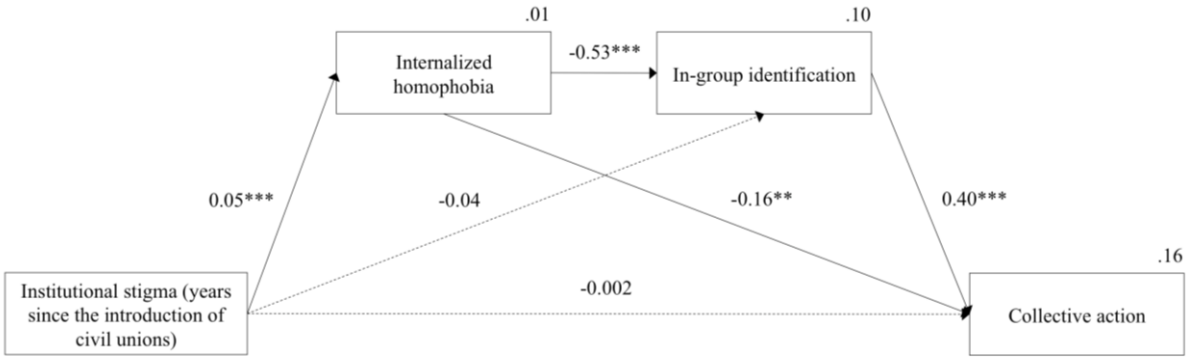

Figure 10. Indirect effects of institutional stigma (years since the introduction of civil unions) on collective action by internalized homophobia and in-group identification (Study 3).

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$.

[63] The effect was significant also when we employed the ML estimator and bootstrapping, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.02, -0.01], *Z* = -2.80, *p* = .005.

[64] The effect was significant, however, as shown by bias-corrected confidence intervals obtained with the ML estimator and bootstrapping, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.02, -0.002], *Z* = -1.90, *p* = .058.

Table 13

The effects of institutional sexual stigma (time since the introduction of civil unions), internalized homophobia and in-group identification on collective action (Study 3)

	Model 1		Model 2	
Predicted variables	Collective action	Internalized homophobia	In-group identification	Collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	4.87 (0.05)***	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.04)	4.87 (0.04)***
Institutional stigma (time since the introduction of civil unions)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.01)***	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.002 (0.03)
Internalized homophobia			-0.53 (0.05)***	-0.16 (0.06)**
In-group identification				0.40 (0.03)***
Lesbian				
Bisexual woman				
Bisexual man				
Age				
Education				
Settlement size				
Quality of democracy				
Societal religiosity				
-2 log-likelihood	5249.65		13357.09	

Note. Unstandardized coefficients reported. Standard errors reported in the parentheses. Gay men served as the reference category.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 13 (continued)

The effects of institutional sexual stigma (time since the introduction of civil unions), internalized homophobia and in-group identification on collective action (Study 3)

	Model 3		
Predicted variables	Internalized homophobia	In-group identification	Collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	0.08 (0.04)*	0.02 (0.06)	4.77 (0.06)***
Institutional stigma (time since the introduction of civil unions)	0.06 (0.02)**	-0.09 (0.04)*	-0.07 (0.04)
Internalized homophobia		-0.52 (0.05)***	-0.14 (0.06)*
In-group identification			0.39 (0.03)***
Lesbian	-0.20 (0.06)***	0.06 (0.09)	0.13 (0.10)
Bisexual woman	-0.13 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.11)	0.34 (0.11)**
Bisexual man	0.17 (0.13)	-0.46 (0.20)*	-0.31 (0.21)
Age	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.17 (0.06)**
Education	0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Settlement size	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.004 (0.02)
Quality of democracy	-0.04 (0.20)	0.70 (0.34)*	0.31 (0.42
Societal religiosity	-0.47 (0.50)	0.75 (0.64)	1.61 (0.88)
-2 log-likelihood		34502.24	

Note. Unstandardized coefficients reported. Standard errors reported in the parentheses. Gay men served as the reference category.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

8.3. Discussion

Using data collected in five Eastern European countries, we found that sexual stigma engrained in the legal system (a macro-level phenomenon) suppressed collective action among LGB individuals (a micro-level phenomenon). This effect was explained by two separate mechanisms: (1) the increase of internalized homophobia and (2) the sequential changes in internalized homophobia and in-group identification among sexual minorities members. Importantly, the indirect effects of institutional stigma were independent from other societal properties, such as religiosity or quality of democracy and emerged when different operationalizations of legal heterosexism were employed. Thus, the present results confirm that different manifestations of sexual stigma are vital for shaping collective action among LGBT people.

First, our results speak in favour of the association between structural heterosexism and internalized homophobia assumed within the sexual stigma conceptual framework (Herek, 2004, 2007, 2009). Sexual stigma perpetuated by LGB-directed legislation was demonstrated to 'get under the skin' of non-heterosexual individuals and magnify their self-stigmatization. The more a given country was blind to the rights of sexual minorities, the higher was the level of internalized homophobia among its LGB citizens. As far as the consequences of institutional and internalized sexual stigma are concerned, the present results extend the previous work by demonstrating their detrimental effects on the collective action of LGB individuals. The positive relationship between the adoption of the hierarchy legitimizing myths (i.e., internalized homophobia) and unchallenging behaviour in relation to the status quo (i.e., low collective action intentions) also conforms to the predictions of the system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost et al., 2004; Pacilli et al., 2011).

Second, in accordance with SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), in-group identification was shown to be the function of in-group status. The narrower scope of LGB rights translated into lower in-group identification of non-heterosexual individuals.

Third, support was lent to the implications of POS (see Meyer, 2004), which assumes that protest behaviour depends on extra-individual, contextual factors such as the system's political openness. Analogical to power concentration and high responsiveness in the general population (e.g. Corcoran et al., 2011), legal recognition of non-heterosexual individuals encouraged LGB activism.

Fourth, our results add to the collective action literature by clarifying some of the psychological mechanisms that may underlie the relationship between political system properties and individual engagement. We show that political culture and its regulations concerning sexual minorities' rights affect the collective action involvement due to specific psychological processes occurring among LGB individuals. Utilizing the potential of psychological and sociological theories of engagement, our theoretical model at the same time overcomes their shortcomings. It takes into account the institutional setting, a factor often neglected in social psychological models of collective action, and it adds an intervening psychological element to the link between formal arrangements and individual behaviour postulated by sociological theories of political action (see Meyer, 2004). We believe that beyond explaining collective action of sexual minorities members, the current integrative approach may inform the research on engagement of other low-status groups.

Next, current results shed light on the vicious circle created by discriminatory legal regulations. By weakening in-group identification and collective action among LGB individuals, institutional sexual stigma impedes social change and reproduces itself. Thus, structural heterosexism seems to play a double role as both the target of and an obstacle to LGB activism.

Finally, current results elucidate the relationship between context and in-group identification among the members of sexual minorities. As revealed in Study 2, the strength of LGBT identity does not differ between the meso-level units of analysis. Similar results emerge when macro-level properties are concerned. Specifically, regardless of its operationalization, sexual stigma entrenched in legal regulations shows no direct association with in-group identification among LGBT people. As such, unlike network embeddedness (see Chapter 7) or internalized homophobia, in-group identification seems to be independent from context properties.

All that said, the current study is not without limitations. The heavily unbalanced sample size between countries constitutes its major weakness. Since unequal group sizes may affect standard errors estimates and *p*-values, confidence in conclusions based on the full sample data (i.e. $N = 1365$) should be limited.

One may also ask whether the nested structure of the current dataset should not be recognized by the adoption of a MLM framework. MLM, which allows linking different levels of analysis (see Chapter 7), is a standard tool to investigate how context affects individuals (Hox, 2010). However, when the number of observations at the higher level is limited (i.e., $N < 50$ for ML estimation and $N < 20$ for Bayesian estimation; see Hox, van de Schoot & Matthijasse, 2012), MLM fails to provide accurate estimates (Maas & Hox, 2005). Thus, due to the small size of the current sample (five observations at the macro level), we decided to apply regular path analysis instead of MLM. Nevertheless, research aimed at the replication of our findings should employ a larger number of countries to perform optimal MLM analysis.

Another limitation of this study stems from its cross-sectional design, which does not allow firm causal conclusions. Two relationships involved in our theoretical model appear particularly problematic. First, it may be questioned whether the detrimental effects of

institutional stigma are first manifested in internalized homophobia and translate into in-group identification afterwards or if structural stigma leads to low in-group identification that entails high internalized homophobia. Since the stage models of LGBT identity development (see Bilodeau, & Renn, 2005) suggest that prior to establishing stable bonds with LGBT community (i.e., developing in-group identification) LGB individuals have to overcome negative feelings toward their own sexual orientation (i.e., internalized homophobia), we assume the precedence of self-stigmatization over in-group identification. The second question concerns the relationship between institutional stigma and individual collective action. Our model assumes the top-down causal flow from structural stigma to LGB activism. The alternative direction of causality would involve a bottom-up process, in which collective action of LGB individuals leads to the extension of sexual minorities' rights at the country level. Since in the Eastern European countries the non-discrimination regulations were rather externally imposed than adopted (O'Dwyer & Schwartz, 2010; Slootmaeckers & Touquet, 2016), we have excluded the second option. However, the informed response to both causal order questions requires longitudinal data.

It is also unclear if the current findings apply to other socio-political contexts. Following Allport's continuum of prejudice (1954), the forms of institutional sexual stigma may be ordered from severe (e.g. subjecting sodomy acts to the capital punishment) to relatively mild (e.g. absence of automatic co-parent recognition). Since the current data was obtained in the countries situated in the middle of such continuum, it may be questioned, whether the pacifying effects of structural stigma on LGBs' collective action are similar in the settings characterized by a higher and lower degree of lawful discrimination. For example, it is not evident, whether the difference in the intensity of collective action between countries penalizing homosexual conduct with life imprisonment and countries punishing this activity with death sentence would be the same as between countries providing hate crime protection

or not. Again, the knowledgeable response to the universality question needs cross-cultural data obtained in countries with a diversified strength of institutional stigma.

Future studies would also benefit from examining other factors that may influence LGB activism. It seems possible that structural stigma weakens collective action of this group through mechanisms different than those considered in the present research. For example, state-sponsored heterosexism may operate through the anticipated social costs of confrontation (see Barreto & Ellemers, 2015) – in a hostile institutional setting, LGB individuals may refrain from challenging the status quo due to fear of retaliation from the state or prejudiced majority. Furthermore, collective action of LGB people may be affected by other macro-level properties, such as societal attitudes toward sexual minorities or dominant cultural values. Although the current research accounted for societies' secularization and emancipation by using societal religiosity and quality of democratic institutions as proxies, future research may employ the aggregate measures of secular and emancipative values instead (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005) instead.

To conclude, despite its shortcomings, the present study delivers evidence on the role of the socio-political context in promoting LGB individuals' political engagement. By shaping the beliefs and identities of LGB people, sexual stigma entrenched in state institutions may thwart political activism of sexual minorities and thus conserve the status quo. At the same time, as evident in Eastern European context, state-sponsored heterosexism emerges from the interaction of ideological inclinations of political elites and the leverage of international institutions. Therefore, it seems crucial for social-psychological research to acknowledge the institutional setting of particular protests; distant and often-unrecognized macro-level phenomena may determine whether a person comes out of the closet and gets into the streets.

8.4. Interim summary

Studies 1-3 aimed to examine which micro-, meso-, and macro-level factors facilitate or inhibit collective action among LGBT individuals. Based on numerous theories with the central role of sexual stigma theoretical framework (Herek, 2004, 2007, 2009), we formulated 13 hypotheses regarding the antecedents of protest behaviour. In this section, we shortly relate present findings to the primary objectives of the current dissertation and address the limitations common to Studies 1-3.

Studies 1-3 revealed that LGBT activism depends on multiple factors located at different levels of analysis. In sum, 10 out of 13 hypotheses formulated in Chapter 3 received support from the data. Regarding psychological antecedents, engagement of sexual minorities' members was inhibited by internalized stigma; LGB individuals who adopted society's negative view of homosexuality were less likely to actively confront the heterosexist hierarchy. Importantly, this effect was mediated by the decrease of in-group identification – the central precondition of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008). LGBT activism was also shown to depend on structrural availability of prospective protesters. As shown by cross-sectional and longitudinal data, individuals who knew more LGBT activists declared higher intentions to take collective action on behalf of their in-group. In line with past theorizing (e.g. Passy & Monsch, 2014), this effect was also mediated by in-group identification – embeddedness in activist network translated into stronger LGBT identity, which in turn resulted in higher engagement intentions. Interestingly, collective action also increased network embeddedness over time. Taken together, the two effects seemed to create a virtuous circle of engagement, with network embeddedness contributing positively to collective action, and collective action feeding back to network embeddedness. In terms of meso-level antecedents, LGBT activism was predicted positively by pro-LGBT SMOs – in counties where LGBT rights movement had been institutionalized, LGBT people declared higher

intentions of future engagement. Importantly, this effect was mediated by network embeddedness – SMOs increased the number of known activists, which further led to higher collective action willingness. At the same time, contrary to our expectations, pro-LGBT SMOs did not promote protest behaviour by strengthening LGBT identity. When macro-level properties were concerned, engagement of sexual and gender minorities was suppressed by institutional stigma. As shown in Study 3, discriminatory legal arrangements inhibited collective action of LGB individuals by promoting internalized homophobia and diminishing in-group identification.

By showing the interplay between proximal and distal antecedents of LGBT activism, Studies 1-3 substantiate our general claim that extra-individidual factors, such as social networks, organizational setting and legal regulations, affect engagement by shaping its psychological catalysts. This is an important insight, since social-psychological literature tends to overlook the fact that intra-individual antecedents of collective action do not emerge in a vacuum. As such, present findings provide a strong argument for integrating individualist and structuralist perspectives in collective action research (van Zomeren, 2016a).

Despite their theoretical and practical implications, Studies 1-3 show some limitations that need to be addressed. Most importantly, the generalizability of our findings may be compromised by the online mode of data collection. The Eastern European countries involved in Studies 1-3 do not exhibit full Internet penetration (the actual figures range from 69% in Croatia to 83% in Latvia; Eurostat, 2018). As such, there are legitimate reasons to assume that some segments of domestic LGBT communities (e.g., the elderly, the rural areas residents) were underrepresented in the present research. Second, there is a possibility of self-selection bias. Specifically, individuals with certain characteristics (e.g., high in-group identification) may be more motivated to participate in web-based studies addressing a given topic (i.e., LGBT issues; see Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). At the same time, online surveys are

considered the best way to access hidden and decentralized populations, such as LGBT people (Koch & Emrey, 2002; Riggle, Rostosky, & Reedy, 2005). The primacy of online data collection becomes especially evident when it is compared to other methods. For example, in-person surveys employing random samples of participants – a gold standard in sociological methodology – usually do not ask questions related to respondents' sexual orientation or gender identity (Eurobarometer – a regular survey carried out in all EU Member States – is one of the exceptions here; see Chapter 11). Even if they do, respondents may conceal their non-normative identity in the contexts characterized by strong sexual stigma. Moreover, assuming that LGBT individuals comprise 3.5% of the general adult population (Gates, 2011), an expensive nation-based survey of 1000 individuals would deliver data from 35 LGBT respondents. Small effects may not be detected with the samples of this size (Cohen, 1988). Thus, beyond the issue of identity concealment, high costs and low statistical power render national random sampling an inefficient tool for studying sexual minorities. On the other hand, activist-based, snowball samples (e.g. Jones, 2002; Waldner, 2001) tend to overrepresent individuals who are well embedded in a community social network. Similar reservations concern gathering data at the collective action events (e.g., Barrientos, Silva, Catalan, Gómez, & Longueira, 2010; Lombardi, 1999). Finally, samples collected in LGBT-specific venues, such as clubs or bars may be biased because of recruiting disproportionately young and active respondents. As such, despite its evident shortcomings, online data collection seems to be the most efficient method of gathering large and heterogeneous LGBT samples.

While our studies investigated both structural and psychological antecedents of LGBT individuals' collective action, the present research does not exhaust the catalogue of factors that potentially lead to LGBT activism. For instance, it is possible that in-group identification does not constitute the most proximal source of such engagement (see van Zomeren et al.,

2008). It would be interesting to see whether group-based emotions of LGBT people intervene in the relationship between in-group identification and engagement and how they depend on meso- and macro-level factors such as SMOs and legal regulations. Another avenue for future research would be to investigate the interplay between macro- and meso-level factors in predicting individual engagement. For example, it seems plausible that unfavourable legal arrangements (e.g. denying civil rights to sexual minorities) translate into limited presence of pro-LGBT SMOs, which may further lead to low collective action efforts. Finally, future studies would benefit from investigating what factors entail demobilization. Although the structural antecedents of social movements' decline have been identified by political scientists and sociologists (e.g., Jung, 2010; Zald & Ash, 1966), little is known about the psychological underpinnings of protesters' withdrawal (but see Klandermans & van Stekelenburg, 2014).

CHAPTER 9[65]

STUDIES 4-7

While Studies 1-3 investigated collective action among LGBT people, the remaining part of the present dissertation concerned the engagement of heterosexual/cisgender individuals. Across six studies, we sought to learn what pushes heterosexual/cisgender people to actively demand the extension or the limitation of LGBT rights. The list of considered factors involved politicized identity, sexual prejudice, intergroup contact and network embeddedness (micro-level variables), as well as pro-LGBT SMOs (a meso-level variable) and unfavourable legal regulations (a macro-level variable). The present chapter describes four cross-sectional studies that focused on micro-level predictors of collective action related to LGBT rights. In the following sections we describe each of these studies, provide a statistical model that integrates their primary results, and discuss the theoretical and practical implications of our findings.

9.1. Study 4

Study 4 was a field study conducted during the 2015 Equality Parade – an annual march in support of LGBT rights taking place in Warsaw, Poland. This exploratory study was aimed, among others[66], to test modern and old-fashioned homonegativity, as well as

[65] Data from studies 4-6 was presented at the EASP 18th General Meeting in Granada as the part of Tausch, N., Górska, P., Saguy, T., Lolliot, S., Bilewicz, M., & Bryson, J. (2017). *Becoming allies: Cross-group contact and solidarity among members of advantaged groups*.

[66] Another objective of the present study was to examine whether system justification (Jost & Banaji, 1994) translates into negative perception of protesters. Because of this, instead of interviewing the participants of the Equality Parade, we decided to collect data among

intergroup contact as the antecedents of collective action in solidarity with LGBT people. We anticipated that modern homonegativity would inhibit solidarity-based engagement of heterosexual/cisgender individuals (H15), and that its negative effect on collective action would be stronger as compared to the effect of old-fashioned homonegativity (H16). Furthermore, it was reasonable to expect that collective action in support of LGBT rights would be promoted by intergroup contact (H17). Based on the rationale presented in Chapter 4, we hypothesized that knowing LGBT individuals would stimulate solidarity-based engagement by diminishing modern homonegativity (H18) and that the positive effect of intergroup contact on collective action would be better explained by the reduction of modern rather than old-fashioned homonegativity (H19).

9.1.1. Method

9.1.1.1. Participants

Participants were the observers of the Equality Parade. Research assistants were instructed to approach individuals who happened to be in the proximity of the protest route but did not participate in the event. In total, 124 participants completed the questionnaire. After excluding data from the respondents who either delclared to be non-heterosexual or did not provide information on their sexual orientation (n = 54), the sample consisted of 70 individuals (29 male and 41 female) whose age ranged from 19 to 75 (M = 36.07, SD = 12.96). University graduates accounted for 77.1% of the analyzed sample.

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passersby who observed this event. In the following paragraphs, we analyze only the variables that matched the scope of the present dissertation.

9.1.1.2. Measures

Measures of intergroup contact, sexual prejudice and collective action intentions were embedded in a longer questionnaire that tapped on a range of social-psychological constructs (e.g. system justification). Unless otherwise noted, all items used a 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) response scale.

Independent variable. Intergroup contact was measured with a single item: "Do you know any homosexual person?" (1 = *No, I don't know any*, 2 = *Yes, one*, 3 = *Yes, between two and five*, 4 = *Yes, more than five*).

Mediators. Old-fashioned homonegativity was assessed with four items (α = .74) comprising the Polish adaptation of Homonegativity Scale (Górska et al., 2017; Morrison et al., 1999) – for example, "Homosexuals are immoral." Modern homonegativity was gauged with 11 items (α = .89) comprising the Polish adaptation of Modern Homonegativity Scale (Górska et al., 2016; Morrison & Morrison, 2003) – for example, "Homosexuals seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same." [67]

Dependent variable. Solidarity-based collective action was assessed with two items: "I support the Equality Parade" and "I want to join the Equality Parade", $r = .74$, $p < .001$.

Covariates. Covariates involved gender (coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women), age, and education (1 = *primary school*, 2 = *intermediate school*, 3 = *vocational school*, 4 = *high school*, 5 = *university-level education*). All of these variables were demonstrated to predict

[67] While the results of principal axis EFA revealed four factors accounting for 35.50%, 7.40%, 5.79% and 4.38% of variability, respectively, the CFA model with old-fashioned and modern homonegativity factors fitted data well, $\chi^2(86) = 103.93$, CFI = .95, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .08. Thus, we treated the 15 homonegativity items employed in Study 4 as tapping on two distinct constructs.

negative attitudes toward homosexuals in Polish cultural context (e.g., Górska & Mikołajczak, 2015). The rate of missing data ranged from 0 for intergroup contact, gender and education to 10% for age (M = 4.24%).

9.1.2. Results

9.1.2.1. Preliminary analyses

Table 14 presents the means, standard deviations and intercorrelations for the continuous variables measured in Study 4. The pattern of intercorrelations replicated past findings (e.g. Smith, 2011). Solidarity-based collective action correlated negatively with modern (r = -.80, p < .001) and old-fashioned homonegativity (r = -.56, p < .001), and positively with intergroup contact, r = .28, p = .021. At the same time, intergroup contact correlated negatively with modern (r = -.27, p = .032) and old-fashioned homonegativity (r = -.35, p = .005), and the two types of sexual prejudice exhibited strong positive correlation, r = .76, p < .001.

In line with the past results (e.g., Kite & Whitley, 1996; Petersen, & Hyde, 2010), men declared more negative attitudes toward homosexuals in comparison to women. Gender differentiated modern homonegativity (M_{men} = 4.06, SD_{men} = 1.53, M_{women} = 3.27, SD_{women} = 1.39, t(63) = 2.17, p = .034, d = 0.54) and collective action, M_{men} = 3.18, SD_{men} = 1.76, M_{women} = 4.79, SD_{women} = 2.02, t(64) = -3.37, p = .001, d = 0.84. The difference in old-fashioned homonegativity approached significance, M_{men} = 2.52, SD_{men} = 1.62, M_{women} = 1.85, SD_{women} = 1.12, t(63) = 1.99, p = .051, d = 0.50. By contrast, men and women did not differ in terms of intergroup contact, M_{men} = 2.41, SD_{men} = 0.98, M_{women} = 2.80, SD_{women} = 1.03, t(68) = -1.60, p = .115, d = 0.39.

Table 14

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the variables assessed in Study 4

	M	*SD*	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Solidarity-based collective action	4.11	2.07	-.80***	-.56***	.28*	.39**	.20	-.11
2. Modern homonegativity	3.47	1.43		.76***	-.27*	-.26*	-.11	.09
3. Old-fashioned homonegativity	2.56	1.40			-.35**	-.29*	.18	-.11
4. Intergroup contact	2.64	1.02				.19	-.24	.13
5. Gender	0.09	0.50					-.09	.21
6. Age	36.08	13.68						-.28*
7. Education	4.74	0.50						

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Note. Gender coded -0.5 for males and 0.5 for females.

9.1.2.2. Main analyses

9.1.2.2.1. Analytical strategy

To check if intergroup contact stimulated collective action in support of LGBT rights and whether this effect was better mediated by modern rather than old-fashioned homonegativity, we tested three saturated path models. First (Table 15, Model 1), solidarity-based collective action was regressed on intergroup contact. In Model 2 (Table 15, Figure 11) intergroup contact served as the focal predictor of the DV, while modern and old-fashioned homonegativity were specified as parallel mediators. In Model 3 (Table 15), the covariates (i.e. gender, age and education) were added into the equation. To account for the lack of multivariate normality[68], MLR estimator was applied. Prior to path analyses, modern and old-fashioned homonegativity, intergroup contact, age and education were mean-centered.

9.1.2.2.2. Hypotheses testing[69]

As shown in Table 15 (Model 1), intergroup contact predicted solidarity-based collective action positively (B = 0.58, SE = 0.26, 95% CI [0.07, 1.09], p = .025) – individuals knowing a homosexual person exhibited a more favorable attitude toward the Equality Parade, which supported H17.

Adding the two types of sexual prejudice in the equation (Table 15, Model 2, Figure 11) diminished the effect of intergorup contact on the DV to non-significance, B = 0.22, SE =

[68] As shown by Mardia's multivariate skewness (χ^2 = 88.64, p = .004) but not the multivariate kurtosis (Z = 1.51, p = .131) test.

[69] The present analysis was performed with the exclusion of one observation detected as the outlier with residual larger than three standard deviations away from the mean (Barnett & Lewis, 1994). The pattern of results remained similar when data for this participant was retained.

0.17, 95% *CI* [-0.12, .0.56], $p = .210$. In line with H15, solidarity-based collective action was predicted negatively by modern homonegativity ($B = -1.29$, $SE = 0.12$, 95% *CI* [-1.52, -1.06], $p < .001$). At the same time, collective action in solidarity with LGBT people was unrelated to the old-fashioned type of sexual prejudice, $B = 0.21$, $SE = 0.15$, 95% *CI* [-0.70, 0.50], $p = .145$). The two types of sexual prejudice differed significantly in their effects on the DV ($\chi^2(1) = 37.31$, $p < .001$), which provided firm support to H16. Furthermore, intergroup contact exerted negative effects on both modern ($B = -0.40$, $SE = 0.19$, 95% *CI* [-0.77, -0.04], $p = .032$) and old-fashioned sexual prejudice ($B = -0.50$, $SE = 0.19$, 95% *CI* [-0.86, -0.13], $p = .008$). The effect of intergroup contact on solidarity-based collective action was mediated by the decrease in modern homonegativity ($IE = 0.52$; $SE = 0.25$; 95% *CI* [0.02, 1.02], $Z = 2.05$, $p = .041$), corroborating H18. By contrast, the old-fashioned type of sexual prejudice did not account for the relationship between the focal predictor and the DV, $IE = -0.11$; $SE = 0.09$; 95% *CI* [-0.27, 0.06], $Z = -1.24$, $p = .216$. [70] In line with H19, these two indirect effects were significantly different, $\chi^2(1) = 4.06$, $p = .044$).

The results did not change, when the covariates were introduced to the model (Table 16, Model 3): the positive reationship between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action was mediated by modern ($IE = 0.44$, $SE = 0.23$, 95% CI [0.002, 0.88], $p = .049$) but not by old-fashioned homonegativity, $IE = -0.04$, $SE = 0.08$, 95% *CI* [-0.19, 0.11], $p = .621$.

[70] When we applied ML estimation and bootstrapping, intergroup contact still promoted solidarity-based collective action by decreasing modern ($IE = 0.52$; $SE = 0.26$; 95% *CI* [0.01, 1.05], $Z = 1.97$, $p = .049$) but not old-fashioned ($IE = -0.11$; $SE = 0.10$; 95% *CI* [-0.34, 0.04], $Z = -1.09$, $p = .277$) homonegativity.

Table 15

The effects of intergroup contact, modern homonegativity and old-fashioned homonegativity on solidarity-based collective action (Study 4)

	Model 1	Model 2		
Predicted variables	Solidarity-based CA	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Solidarity-based CA
	B (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Predictors				
Intercept	4.11 (0.24)***	-0.03 (0.16)	-0.03 (0.17)	4.12 (0.15)***
Modern homonegativity				-1.29 (0.12)***
Old-fashioned homonegativity				0.21 (0.15)
Intergroup contact	0.58 (0.26)***	-0.50 (0.19)**	-0.40 (0.19)*	0.22 (0.17)
Gender				
Age				
Education				
-2 loglikelihood	276.53		605.14	

Note. $N = 70$. CA = collective action. Entries are non-standardized estimates. Intergroup contact, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, age, education, and settlement size were centered prior to the analysis. Gender coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 15 (continued)

The effects of intergroup contact, modern homonegativity and old-fashioned homonegativity on solidarity-based collective action (Study 4)

	Model 3		
Predicted variables	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Solidarity-based CA
	B (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Predictors			
Intercept	0.01 (0.16)	0.03 (0.16)	4.04 (0.13)***
Modern homonegativity			-1.09 (0.17)***
Old-fashioned homonegativity			0.09 (0.19)
Intergroup contact	-0.40 (0.17)*	-0.41 (0.20)*	0.24 (0.15)
Gender	-0.65 (0.33)*	-0.74 (0.34)	0.73 (0.33)*
Age	0.10 (0.11)	-0.14 (0.13)	0.20 (0.15)
Education	-0.03 (0.39)	0.39 (0.36)	-0.32 (0.38)
-2 loglikelihood		1184.68	

Note. $N = 70$. CA = collective action. Entries are non-standardized estimates. Intergroup contact, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, age, education, and settlement size were centered prior to the analysis. Gender coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

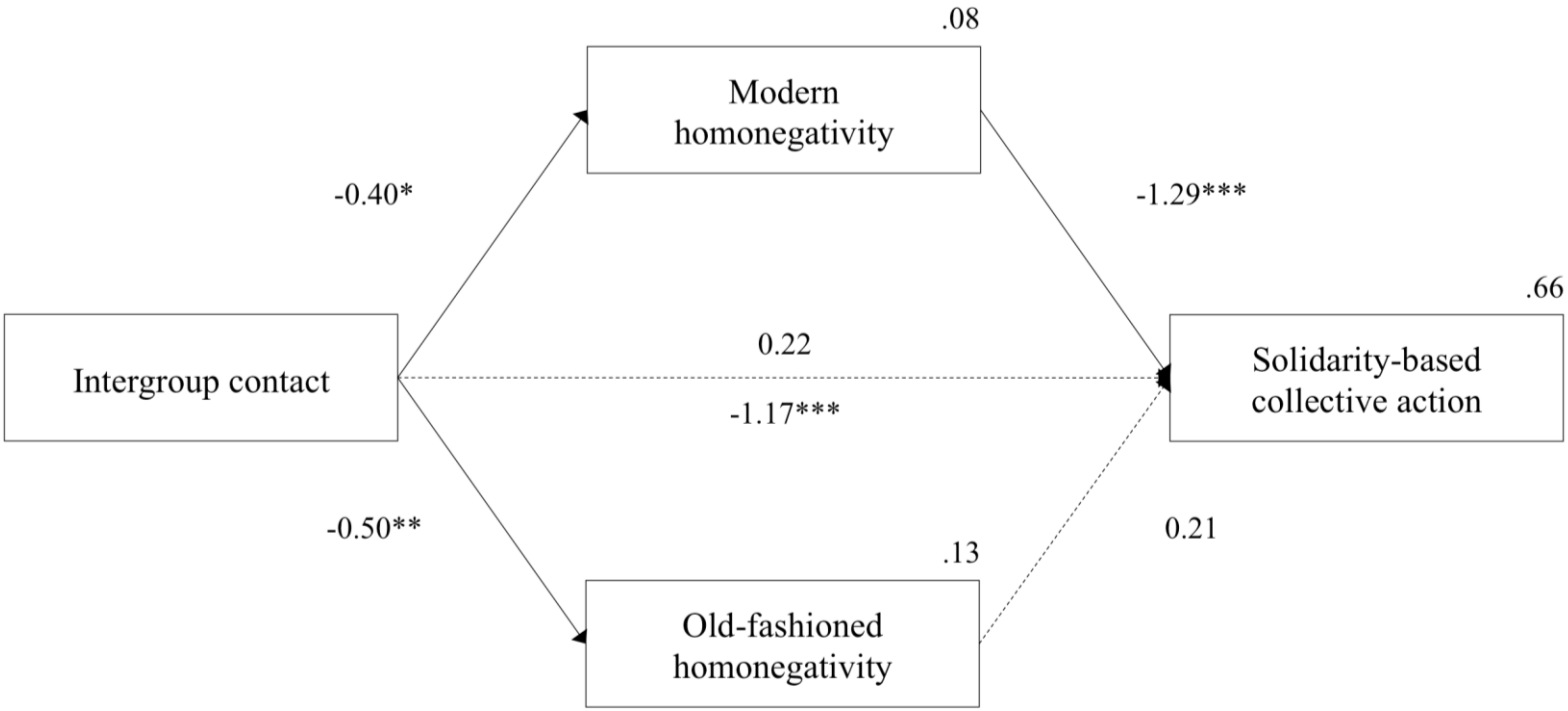

Figure 11. Antecedents of solidarity-based collective action (Study 4).

Note. The figure displays the unstandardized estimates for Model 2 (Table 15). The estimates below and above the path from intergroup contact to solidarity-based collective action represent the total and direct effect of intergroup contact, respectively. Dashed lines denote nonsignificant coefficients. Residuals of old-fashioned and modern homonegativity were allowed to correlate.
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

9.1.2.3. Supplementary analyses

One could claim that the close negative relationship between modern homonegativity and solidarity-based collective action (r = -.80, p < .001) obtained in the present study results from the content overlap between the measures of these constructs. Indeed, while solidarity-based collective action was operationalized as the attitude toward the Equality Parade, one of items comprising the Modern Homonegativity Scale ("Celebrations such as 'Equality Parade' are ridiculous because they assume that an individual's sexual orientation should constitute the source of pride") also referred to this event. To check if it was the case, we repeated the analyses using a purged, 10-item measure of modern homonegativity (α = .85), with the Equality Parade item deleted. Refining the measure of modern sexual prejudice did not affect our conclusions: intergroup contact effect on solidarity-based collective action was still mediated by modern (*IE* = 0.52; *SE* = 0.25; 95% *CI* [0.02, 1.02], *Z* = 2.05, *p* = .041) but not old-fashioned (*IE* = -0.11; *SE* = 0.09; 95% *CI* [-0.27, 0.06], *Z* = -1.24, *p* = .216) homonegativity.

9.1.3. Discussion

The objective of Study 4 was to provide initial evidence regarding the individual-level antecends of collective action in solidarity with LGBT people. Similar to past results (e.g. Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017), intergroup contact proved to increase solidarity-based collective action. Specifically, heterosexual/cisgender individuals who had more homosexual acquaintances were more supportive toward the Equality Parade and declared higher willingness to join this event. At the same time, the positive effect of intergroup contact on collective action in solidarity with sexual and gender minorities was better mediated by the decrease of modern than old-fashioned homonegativity. Furthermore, in comparison to its traditional counterpart, the modern type of sexual prejudice served as a

better negative predictor of solidarity-based engagement. Taken together, present results lent support to H15, H16, H17, H18, and H19.

The field mode of data collection is both the strength and the weakness of Study 4. Certainly, gathering data at the time of the target collective action event, when both the out-group and its demands are especially salient, contributes to the ecological validity of the present results. In comparison to the conditions created by online measurement or university laboratories, external circumstances at the protest site seem much closer to those experienced by LGBT allies on a daily basis. On the other hand, collecting data at the time of real-life protest is a demanding enterprise (e.g., Klandermans & Smith, 2002). Since the duration of collective action events is usually limited, it is necessary to perform multiple interviews simultaneously to assemble a sample of satisfactory size. To do so, resources to establish a large team of research assistants are required. Because our funds to perform Study 4 were rather limited, and numerous participants did not meet inclusion criteria (i.e., were non-heterosexual), the sample employed in the present analyses was rather small. Furthermore, time pressure inherent to studies conducted during actual protests necessitates the employment of short, and thus suboptimal, measurement of particular constructs. As such, the one-item measure of intergroup contact we used in Study 4 was rather crude. We sought to address both these limitations across Studies 5-7.

9.2. Study 5

With Study 5, our aim was to replicate the results obtained in Study 4 using a larger sample of participants and a more comprehensive measure of intergroup contact. We expected that intergroup contact with homosexual people would promote collective action in solidarity with sexual minorities (H17) and that this effect would be mediated to a greater extent by the decrease of modern than old-fashioned homonegativity (H19).

9.2.1. Method

9.2.1.1. Participants

Data was collected from 804 individuals participating in the Social Research Panel – the online study held by the Center for Research on Prejudice, University of Warsaw (see Cichocka, Dhont, & Makwana, 2017). Upon excluding participants who did not declare to be heterosexual (n = 119) or were underage (n = 1), the sample consisted of 684 individuals (554 female, 130 male, M_{age} = 24.12, SD_{age} = 5.27). Students comprised 81.8% of the sample.

9.2.1.2. Measures

All measures used a 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) response scale, unless otherwise noted.

Independent variable. Intergroup contact was assessed with five items (α = .86): "Do you know any homosexual persons (gay men or lesbians)?" (1 = *No, I don't,* 2 = *Yes, 1-2*, 3 = *Yes, a few*. 4 = *Yes, a lot*, 5 = *Yes, many*), "How often do you have contact with homosexual persons (gay men or lesbians)?" (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Once a year*, 3 = *Once a month*, 4 = *Once a week*, 5 = *Everyday*), "What is the quality of your interactions with homosexual persons (gay men or lesbians)?", (1 = *definitely poor*, 5 = *definitely good*), "Do you have a homosexual friend (a gay man or a lesbian)?" (1 = *No, I don't,* 2 = *Yes, 1-2*, 3 = *Yes, a few*. 4 = *Yes, a lot*, 5 = *Yes, many*), "How often do you have contact with your homosexual friends (gay men or lesbians)?" (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Once a year*, 3 = *Once a month*, 4 = *Once a week*, 5 = *Everyday*)[71].

[71] Although the literature differentiates between the quantity and the quality of intergroup contact (e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993), as well as superficial contact and cross-group friendship (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), different dimensions of intergroup contact did not emerge in the present study. As shown by the principal axis factoring EFA, the five items

Mediators. Old-fashioned homonegativity was gauged with four items used in Study 4 (α = .73). To assess modern prejudice, we used four items from the Modern Homonetivity Scale (α = .88; Górska et al., 2017; Morrison, & Morrison, 2003): "Celebrations such as Equality Parade are ridiculous because they assume that an individual's sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride", "Homosexuals/Lesbians/Gay men still need to protest for equal rights" (reverse-scored), "In today's tough economic times, Poles' taxes shouldn't be used to support homosexuals'/lesbians'/gay men's organizations.", and "Homosexuals/Lesbians/Gay men have become far too confrontational in their demands for equal rights."[72]

Dependent variable. To measure solidarity-based collective action, we asked the participants how likely they were to 1) sign a petition demanding same-sex civil unions, 2) join a demonstration demanding same-sex civil unions, 3) sign a petition against violence targeting homosexual individuals and 4) join a demonstration against violence targeting homosexual individuals (1 = *very unlikely*, 7 = *very likely*; α = .84).

Covariates. Covariates included gender (coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women), age, education, subjective economic situation and settlement size. Education was operationalized as the years of full-time education. To measure subjective economic situation, we asked participants to report their households' economic status on a 5-point scale (1 = *bad,* 2 = rather bad, 3 = *neither bad nor good*, 4 = *rather good,* 5 = *good*). Settlement size was recorded on a 6-point scale (1 = *rural area*, 2 = *town up to 19,999 residents,* 3 = *town between 20,000 and*

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created a single factor accounting for of 58.14% variability. Therefore, we decided to create a single composite score for intergroup contact.

[72] Principal axis factoring EFA demonstrated that modern and old-fashioned homonegativity items created two separate factors that accounted for 47.44% and 8.15% of variability, respectively.

49,999 residents, 4 = *town 50,000 and 99,999 residents*, 5 = *town between 100,000 and 499,999 residents*, 6 = *city with at least 500,000 residents*).

Missing data ranged from 0% for intergroup contact, gender and age to 2.2% for subjective economic situation.

9.2.2. Results

9.2.2.1. Prelimirary analyses

To examine if the past findings were reproduced with the current data, we performed a series of preliminary analyses. Table 16 presents the means, standard deviations and intercorrelations obtained in Study 5. Solidarity-based collective action was associated negatively with modern (r = -.73, p < .001) and old-fashioned homonegativity r = -.52, p < .001, as well as positively with intergroup contact, r = .46, p < .001. At the same time, intergroup contact was related negatively to modern (r = -.41, p < .001) and old-fashioned homonegativity (r = -.42, p < .001), and the two types of sexual prejudice showed a positive relationship, r = .56, p < .001. This pattern of intercorrelations replicated the results obtained in Study 4 and the past research (e.g. Smith, 2011).

Similar to Study 4, gender differentiated attitudes and behavior toward gay men and lesbians. Men declared higher modern (M_{men} = 4.53, SD_{men} = 1.81, M_{women} = 3.68, SD_{women} = 1.81, t(679) = 4.85, p < .001, d = 0.47) and old-fashioned (M_{men} = 2.24, SD_{men} = 1.29, M_{women} = 1.79, SD_{women} = 1.04, t(167.50) = 3.70, p < .001, d = 0.36) homonegativity, were less willing to engage on behalf of homosexuals (M_{men} = 3.30, SD_{men} = 1.75, M_{women} = 3.83, SD_{women} = 1.86, t(678) = -3.00, p = .003, d = -0.29) and claimed to have less intergroup contact with gay men and lesbians (M_{men} = 2.33, SD_{men} = 0.79, M_{women} = 2.65, SD_{women} = 0.87, t(682) = -3.78, p < .001, d = -0.37).

Table 16

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the variables assessed in Study 5.

	M	*SD*	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Solidarity-based collective action	3.74	1.85	-.73***	-.52***	.46***	.11**	.04	.04	.02	.10**
2. Modern homonegativity	3.84	1.84		.56***	-.41***	-.18***	-.10**	-.10**	-.06	-.12**
3. Old-fashioned homonegativity	1.87	1.11			-.42***	-.16***	-.05	-.09*	-.11**	-.14***
4. Intergroup contact	2.59	0.86				.14***	-.01	.10*	.10*	.16***
5. Gender	0.31	0.39					-.03	-.06	.05	.02
6. Age	24.12	5.27						.46***	-.03	.07
7. Education	15.92	2.43							.02	.10*
8. Subjective economic situation	4.02	0.96								.01
9. Settlement size	5.23	1.54								

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

9.2.2.2. Main analyses

9.2.2.1. Analytical strategy

Following the procedure known from Study 4, we tested our hypotheses in the path analysis framework. First, we regressed solidarity-based collective action intergroup contact. Next, we specified modern and old-fashioned homonegativity as parallel mediators. Finally, covariates were added into the model. MLR estimator was used to handle multivariate nonnormality.[73] Modern and old-fashioned homonegativity, intergroup contact, age, education, place of residence and settlement size were mean-centered before the analyses. Results presented below are based on a restricted sample with a single outlying observation excluded.[74]

9.2.2.1. Hypotheses testing

We started from testing a saturated path model in which solidarity-based collective action was regressed on intergroup contact (Table 17, Model 1). In line with H17, intergroup contact exerted a positive effect on solidarity based collective action, $B = 0.99$, $SE = 0.07$, 95% CI [0.84, 1.13], $p < .001$. Next, to check if this effect could be accounted for by the two types of homonegativity, we tested a model including modern and old-fashioned homonegativity as the mediators (Table 17, Model 2, Figure 12). Adding the intervening variables lowered the positive effect of intergroup contact on the DV, but did not make it nonsignificant, $B = 0.35$, $SE = 0.07$, 95% CI [0.22, 0.48], $p < .001$. At the same time,

[73] Mardia's multivariate skewness ($\chi^2 = 3296.17$, $p < .001$) and kurtosis ($Z = 33.81$, $p < .001$) tests revealed the lack of multivariate normality in the present data.

[74] Residual larger than three standard deviations away from the mean (Barnett & Lewis, 1994). Including this observation in the analyses did not affect our conclusions in a meaningful way.

solidarity-based collective action was predicted negatively by modern homonegativity (B = -0.60, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [-0.66, -0.54], $p < .001$), confirming H15. Old-fashioned homonegativity also exerted a negative effect on the DV, B = -0.21, SE = 0.05, 95% CI [-0.30, -0.11], $p < .001$. Importantly, the two types of sexual prejudice differed in terms of their effects ($\chi^2(1) = 32.03$, $p < .001$): modern homonegativity was more closely related to solidarity-based collective action than its old-fashioned counterpart, which corroborated H16. Similar to Study 4, intergroup contact was shown to lower both modern (B = -0.88, SE = 0.07, 95% CI [-1.02, -0.74], $p < .001$) and old-fashioned (B = -0.54, SE = 0.05, 95% CI [-0.63, -0.44], $p < .001$) homonegativity.

In line with H18, intergroup contact promoted solidarity-based collective action by lowering modern homonegativity, IE = 0.52, SE = 0.05, 95% CI [0.42, 0.63], Z = 9.76, $p < .001$. Similar indirect effect emerged when old-fashioned homonegativity was considered as the mediator, IE = 0.11, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [0.06, 0.16], Z = 4.14, $p < .001$.[75] However, the comparison of the indirect effects showed that the modern type of sexual prejudice accounted for the positive relationship between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action to a greater extent than old-fashioned homonegativity, $\chi^2(1) = 37.46$, $p < .001$. Thus, H19 received strong support from the data.

Introducing covariates into the model did not alter the results in a meaningful way. The positive effect of intergroup contact on solidarity-based collective action was mediated by modern (IE = 0.50, SE = 0.05, 95% CI [0.39, 0.60], Z = 9.19, $p < .001$) and old-fashioned

[75] When we estimated bias-corrected confidence intervals using bootstrapping (5,000 re-samples) and ML estimator, the positive effect of intergroup contact on solidarity-based collective action was mediated both by the modern (IE = 0.52, SE =0.06, 95% CI [0.42, 0.63], Z = 9.60, $p < .001$) and the old-fashioned (IE = 0.11, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [0.06, 0.16], Z = 4.15, $p < .001$) type of sexual prejudice.

(*IE* = 0.11, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.06, 0.16], *Z* = 4.39, *p* < .001) homonegativity, but the former indirect effect proved to be stronger than the latter, $\chi^2(1) = 40.31$, *p* < .001.

9.2.2.1. Supplementary analyses

Similar to Study 4, the strong negative relationship between modern prejudice and collective action in solidarity with sexual minorities could result from content overlap. Therefore, we repeated the analyses using a 3-item measure of modern homonegativty (α = .85) that did not include the item referring to the Equality Parade. This modification did not affect our conclusions in a substantial way. The total effect of intergroup contact on solidarity-based collective action was positive and significant, *B* = 0.99, *SE* = 0.07, 95% *CI* [0.85, 1.13], *Z* = 13.87, *p* < .001. In comparison to its old-fashioned counterpart (*B* = -0.20, *SE* = 0.05, 95% *CI* [-0.30, -0.10], *Z* = -3.85, *p* < .001), modern homonegativity was more predictive of collective action in solidarity with sexual minorities, *B* = -0.59, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.65, -0.53], *Z* = -18.16, *p* < .001, $\chi^2(1) = 28.75$, *p* < .001. At the same time, the positive effect of intergroup contact on the DV was mediated to a greater extent by the decrease of the modern (*IE* = 0.54, *SE* = 0.05, 95% *CI* [0.43, 0.64], *Z* = 10.10, *p* < .001) than the old-fashioned type of sexual prejudice, *IE* = 0.11, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.05, 0.16], *Z* = 3.84, *p* < .001, $\chi^2(1) = 42.76$, *p* < .001.

Likewise, accounting for missing data with multiple imputation (10 imputed datasets) did not entail meaningful changes in the results. Again, intergroup contact exerted a positive effect on collective action (*B* = 0.99, *SE* = 0.07, 95% *CI* [0.85, 1.13], *Z* = 13.74, *p* < .001, $\chi^2(1) =$, *p* < .001), and modern homonegativity served as a better mediator of this effect (*IE* = 0.52, *SE* = 0.05, 95% *CI* [0.42, 0.63], *Z* = 4.22, *p* < .001, $\chi^2(1) =$, *p* < .001) than old-fashioned homonegativity (*IE* = 0.11, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.06, 0.16], *Z* = 9.76, *p* < .001, $\chi^2(1) =$, *p* < .001, $\chi^2(1) = 39.81$, *p* < .001).

Table 17

The effects of intergroup contact, modern homonegativity and old-fashioned homonegativity on solidarity-based collective action (Study 6)

Predictors	Model 1	Model 2		
	Solidarity-based CA	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Solidarity-based CA
		B (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	3.73 (0.06)***	0.004 (0.04)	-0.001 (0.06)	3.74 (0.05)***
Modern homonegativity				-0.60 (0.03)***
Old-fashioned homonegativity				-0.21 (0.05)***
Intergroup contact	0.99 (0.07)***	-0.54 (0.05)***	-0.88 (0.07)***	0.35 (0.07)***
Gender				
Age				
Education				
SES				
Settlement size				
-2 log-likelihood	2601.88		6592.52	

*** $p < .001$.

Note. *Ns* = 683. CA = collective action. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Intergroup contact, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, age, education, and settlement size were centered prior to the analysis. Gender coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.

Table 17 (continued)

The effects of intergroup contact, modern homonegativity and old-fashioned homonegativity on solidarity-based collective action (Study 6)

Predictors	Model 3		
	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Solidarity-based CA
	B (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	0.10 (0.05)	0.19 (0.08)*	3.73 (0.06)***
Modern homonegativity			-0.60 (0.03)***
Old-fashioned homonegativity			-0.22 (0.05)***
Intergroup contact	-0.50 (0.05)***	-0.82 (0.07)***	0.36 (0.07)***
Gender	-0.30 (0.11)**	-0.61 (0.16)***	-0.19 (0.11)
Age	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.32 (0.16)*	-0.05 (0.11)
Education	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)
SES	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)
Settlement size	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.001 (0.03)
-2 log-likelihood		8245.84	

Note. *Ns* = 683. CA = collective action. Entries are non-standardized estimates. Intergroup contact, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, age, education, and settlement size were centered prior to the analysis. Gender coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10. *** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

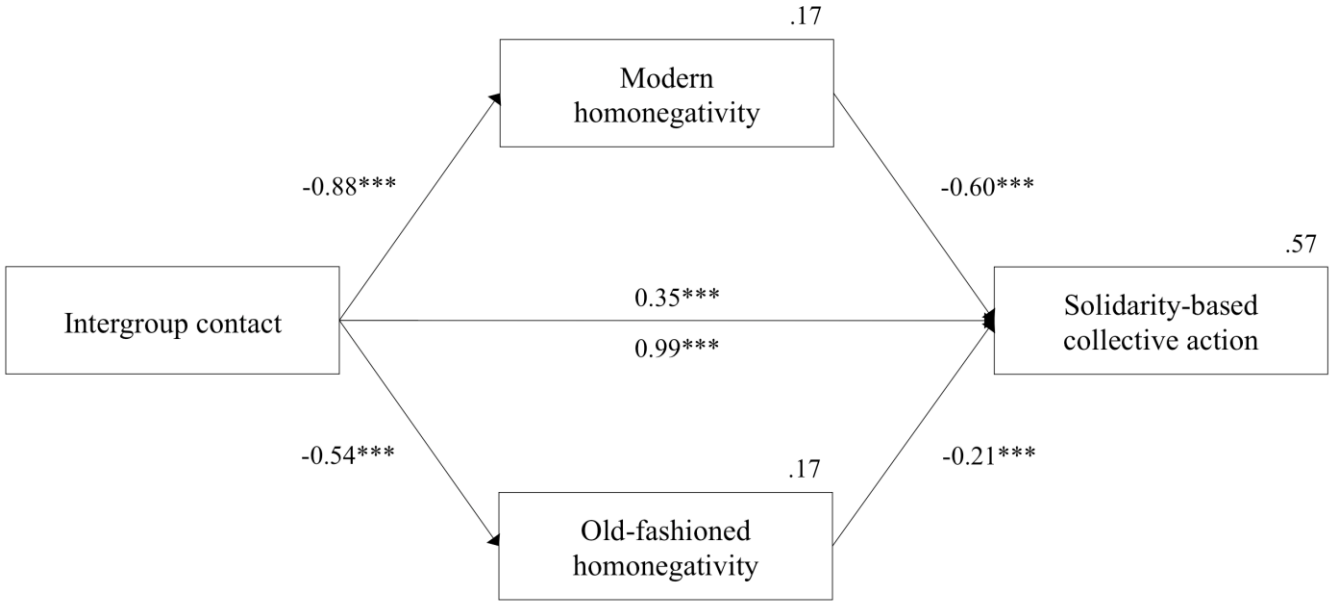

Figure 12. Antecedents of solidarity-based collective action (Study 5).

Note. The figure displays the unstandardized estimates for Model 2 (Table 17). The estimates below and above the path from intergroup contact to solidarity-based collective action represent the total and direct effect of intergroup contact, respectively. Residuals of old-fashioned and modern homonegativity were allowed to correlate.
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

9.2.3. Discussion

The aim of Study 5 was to replicate relationships obtained in Study 4 using a larger sample of participants and a more comprehensive measure of intergroup contact. In line with our expectations, intergroup contact proved to exert a positive effect on collective action in solidarity with sexual minorities – i.e., heterosexual respondents who had more contact with gay men and lesbians were more likely to engage in collective action in support of homosexual people. Importantly, this effect was predicted to a greater extent by the decrease of modern rather than old-fashioned homonegativity. As shown by a series of supplementary analyses, these results did not change when we adjusted for demographics, employed alternative estimation methods or used the restricted measure of modern homonegativity. As such, present data provided firm support to theorizing presented in Chapter 4.

However, some caveats of Study 5 should be mentioned. First, although the present sample was larger than the one employed in Study 4, it was far from being representative to Polish society as a whole. Since the Social Research Panel is an academy-based enterprise, university students comprised the majority of the current sample. As the relationships registered among well-educated segments of particular societies not necessarily generalize to other social groups (for a review, see Henrich et al., 2010), the role of intergroup contact and sexual prejudice in predicting collective action in solidarity with LGBT people should be confirmed with the use of a more heterogeneous sample. Second, while investigating the antecedents of solidarity-based engagement, Studies 4 and 5 did not examine what inspires heterosexual/cisgender majority members to actively demand the limitation of LGBT rights. Studies 6 and 7 were designed to overcome these limitations.

9.3. Study 6

Study 6 had two major objectives. Most importantly, it sought to examine the antecedents of collective action against LGBT rights. In Chapter 5, we proposed a number of factors that could explain why some members of heterosexual/cisgender majority engage in this type of protest behaviour. First, we expected that old-fashioned homonegativity would enhance collective action against LGBT rights (H32), and that its positive effect would be stronger in comparison to the one exerted by modern homonegativity (H33). Second, we hypothesized that intergroup contact with LGBT individuals would inhibit collective action against this group (H34), and that this effect would be mediated by the decrease of old-fashioned homonegativity (H35). Finally, we predicted that, in comparison to its modern counterpart, old-fashioned homonegativity would serve as a better mediator of intergroup contact negative effect on collective action against LGBT rights (H36).

Another objective of Study 6 was to replicate findings of Studies 4 and 5 using data from a heterogeneous, non-academic group of participants. To this end, we employed a sample whose demographics was supposed to reflect the characteristics of the general population of Poles.

9.3.1. Method

9.3.1.1. Participants

Respondents were 510 Poles participating in a commercial online research panel. After excluding non-heterosexual participants (n = 24), the sample size dropped to N = 486 (50.2% female, 49.8% male, age range 18 – 82, M = 43.41, SD = 15.43). In accordance with our intentions, the sample demographics reflected the features of the general population as far as respondents' gender ($\chi^2(1) = 0.41$, $p = .521$, $V = 0{,}02$, $p = .521$; Figure 13) and settlement size ($\chi^2(1) = 1.25$, $p = .264$, $V = .04$, $p = .264$; Figure 14) were concerned. At the same time,

significant differences were registered for age distribution ($\chi^2(5) = 26.19$, $p < .001$, $V = .16$, $p < .001$); the elderly were underrepresented in the present sample (Figure 15).

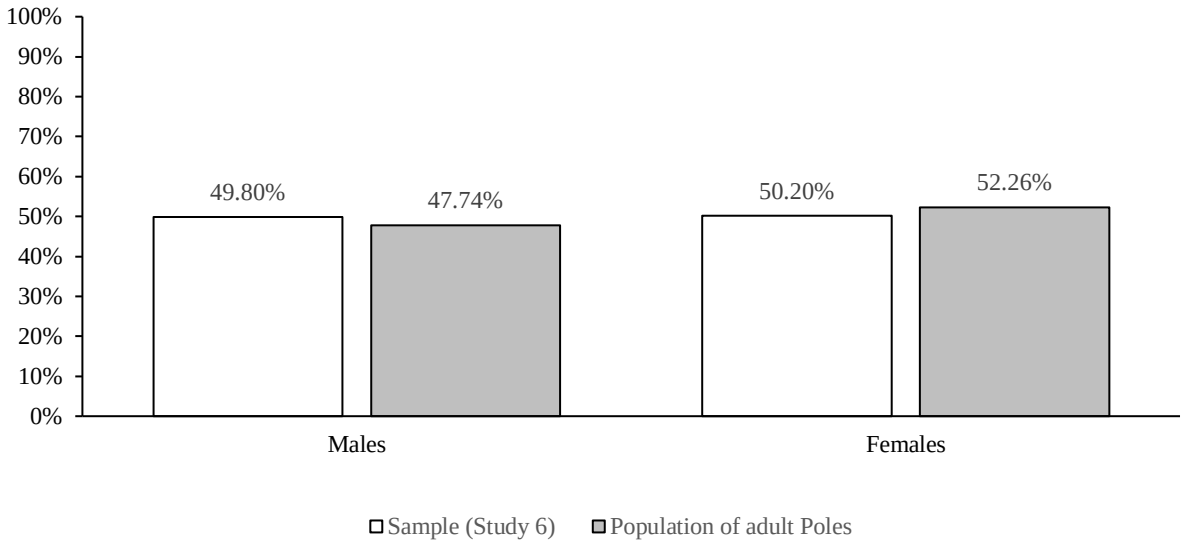

Figure 13. Distribution of gender in the sample (Study 6) and the population of adult Poles.

Note. Data for the population of Poles as of June 30, 2016 (GUS, 2016).

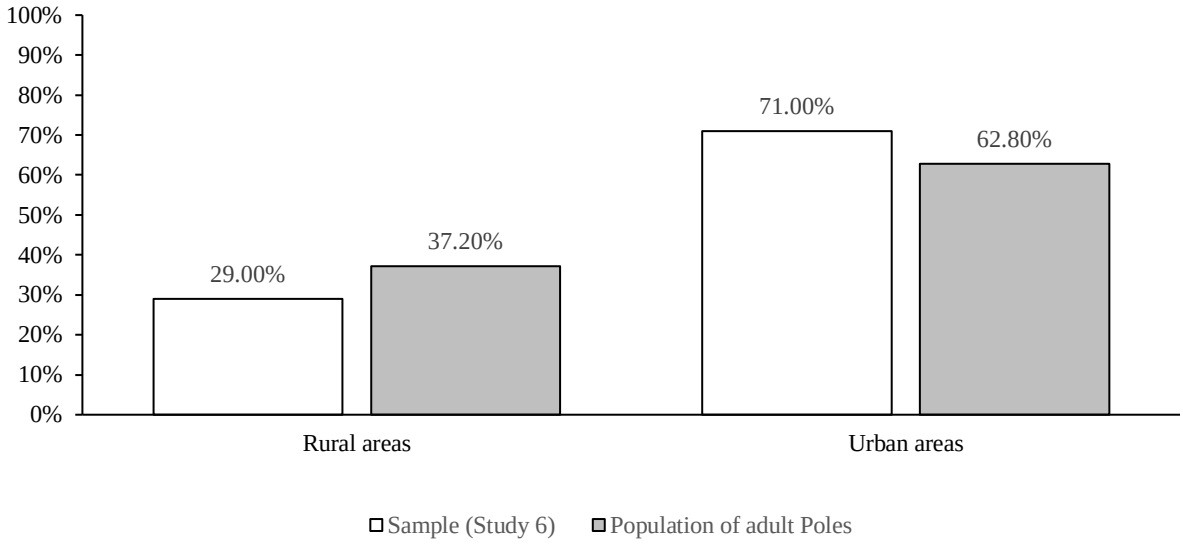

Figure 14. Distribution of settlement size in the sample (Study 6) and the population of adult Poles.

Note. Data for the population of Poles as of June 30, 2016 (GUS, 2016).

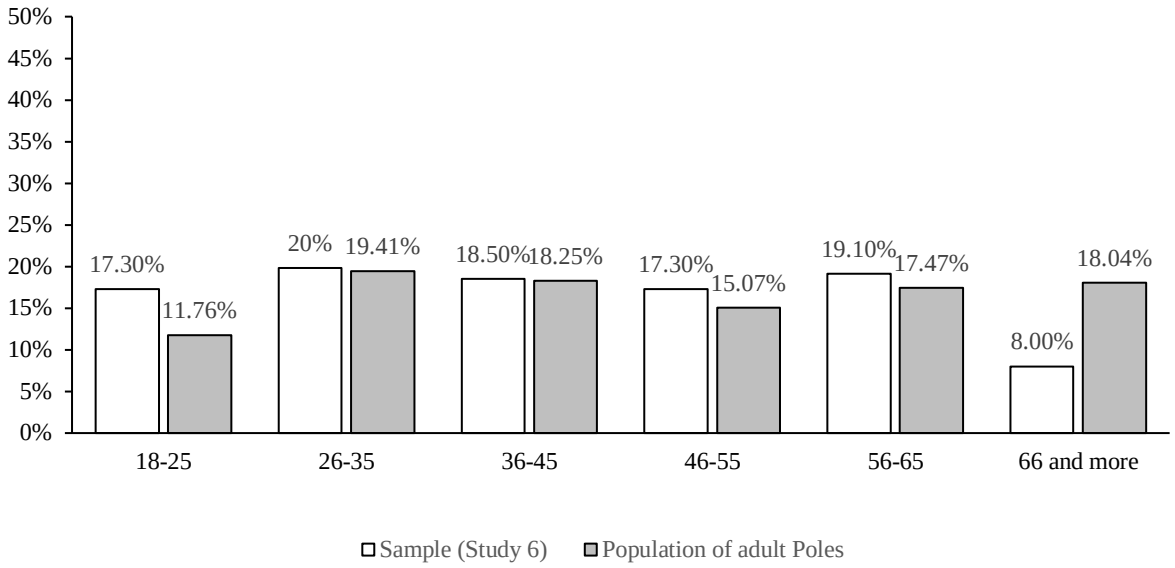

Figure 15. Distribution of age in the sample (Study 6) and the population of adult Poles.

Note. Data for the population of Poles as of June 30, 2016 (GUS, 2016).

9.3.1.2. Measures

All measures employed a 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) response scale, unless otherwise noted.

Independent variable. Intergroup contact was assessed with three items (α = .61): "How many homosexual persons (gay men or lesbians) do you know?" (1 = *zero*; 2 = *one*, 3 = *two*, 4 = *three*, 5 = *four*, 6 = *five*, 7 = *six or more*), "What is the quality of your interactions with homosexual persons (gay men or lesbians)?" (1 = *very poor*, 7 = *very good*) and "How many homosexual persons (gay men or lesbians) do you consider to be your close friends?" (1 = *zero*; 2 = *one*, 3 = *two*, 4 = *three*, 5 = *four*, 6 = *five*, 7 = *six or more*).

Mediators. While old-fashioned homonegativity was assessed with a 4-item scale used in Studies 4 and 5 (α = .83), modern homonegativity was measured with an 11-item scale employed in Study 4 (α = .92)[76].

Dependent variables. Solidarity-based collective action was measured with three items (α = .98): "I want to join a demonstration demanding the extension of homosexuals' rights in Poland", "I will engage in actions aiming at the extension of homosexuals' rights in Poland" and "I want to participate in a campaing aiming at the extension of homosexuals' rights in Poland". Three items were also used to tap on collective action against LGBT individuals (α = .94): "I want to join a demonstration demanding the limitation of homosexuals' rights in Poland", "I will engage in actions aiming at the limitation of homosexuals' rights in Poland" and "I want to participate in a campaing aiming at the limitation of homosexuals' rights in Poland." Because the distinction between solidarity-based collective action and collective action against the low-status out-group was theoretically novel, we performed EFA to check whether acting in support of or against LGBT rights indeed constituted two separate phenomena. The analysis yielded two factors accounting for 48.86% and 39.69% of variance, respectively (Table 18). The correlation between the factors was negligible (r = .09, p = .055). This result suggested that our intuition to differentiate between collective action in solidarity with and against the disadvantaged was reasonable.

[76] Principal axis factoring EFA showed that modern and old-fashioned homonegativity items form two separate factors, accounting for 44.90% and 8.51% of variability, respectively.

Table 18

Factor loadings of collective action items assessed in Study 6

	Factor 1	Factor 2
I want to join a demonstration demanding the extension of homosexuals' rights in Poland	**.96**	-.01
I will engage in actions aiming at the extension of homosexuals' rights in Poland	**.96**	.01
I want to participate in a campaing aiming at the extension of homosexuals' rights in Poland	**.97**	-.01
I want to join a demonstration demanding the limitation of homosexuals' rights in Poland	-.01	**.84**
I will engage in actions aiming at the limitation of homosexuals' rights in Poland	.01	**.96**
I want to participate in a campaing aiming at the limitation of homosexuals' rights in Poland	-.01	**.95**

Note. The values of factor loadings were obtained with the oblique rotation. Factor loadings above .40 are highlighted in bold.

Covariates. The analyses controlled for gender (coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women), age, education (1 = *primary*, 2 = *vocational*, 3 = *secondary*, 4 = *postsecondary*, 5 = *bachelor's degree*, 6 = *master's degree*) and settlement size (1 = *rural area*, 2 = *small town (less than 20,000 residents)*, 3 = *middle town (20,000 – 99,999 residents)*, 4 = *large town (100,000 – 500,000 residents)*, 5 = *big city (more than 500,000 residents)*.

There was no missing data in the present dataset.

9.3.2. Results

9.3.2.1. Preliminary analyses

Means, standard deviations and intercorrelations for the variables assessed in Study 6 are presented in Table 19. Intercorrelations registered in Studies 4 and 5 were replicated in Study 5. Specifically, collective action in solidarity with LGBT people correlated negatively with modern (r = -.58, p < .001) and old-fashioned homonegativity (r = -.26, p < .001), as well as positively with intergroup contact, r = .16, p < .001. Furthermore, intergroup contact was related negatively to old-fashioned (r = -.11, p = .014) and modern homonegativity (r = -.16, p < .001), and the two types of sexual prejudice exhibited a positive correlation, (r = .58, p < .001). At the same time, collective action against LGBT rights was associated positively with modern (r = .29, p < .001) and old-fashioned homonegativity (r = .55, p < .001), and unrelated to intergroup contact, r = -.06, p = .205. The two types collective action assessed in Study 6 did not correlate with each other, r = .09, p = .055.

Gender differentiated intergroup contact (t(484) = -3.65, p < .001, d = -0.33), old-fashioned homonegativity (t(484) = 6.83, p < .001, d = 0.62), modern homonegativity (t(484) = 4.25, p < .001, d = 0.39), collective action in support of LGBT rights (t(480) = -2.42, p = .016, d = -0.22) and collective action against LGBT rights, t(484) = 5.44, p < .001, d = 0.49. In comparison to women, men declared lower intergroup contact (M_{men} = 2.83, SD_{men} = 1.20, M_{women} = 3.22, SD_{women} = 1.17) and solidarity-based collective action intentions (M_{men} = 2.35, SD_{men} = 1.52, M_{women} = 2.70, SD_{women} = 1.68). At the same time, male participants reported stronger old-fashioned homonegativity (M_{men} = 3.34, SD_{men} = 1.53, M_{women} = 2.43, SD_{women} = 1.39), higher modern homonegativity (M_{men} = 4.72, SD_{men} = 1.33, M_{women} = 4.22, SD_{women} = 1.29) and stronger willingness to engage in collective action against LGBT rights (M_{men} = 2.82, SD_{men} = 1.78, M_{women} = 2.04, SD_{women} = 1.34).

Table 19

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the variables assessed in Study 6

	M	*SD*	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Solidarity-based collective action	2.53	1.61	.09	-.58***	-.26***	.16***	.11*	.01	-.01	-.04
2. Collective action against LGBT rights	2.43	1.62		.29***	.55***	-.06	-.24***	-.15**	-.05	-.09*
3. Modern homonegativity	4.47	1.33			.58***	-.11*	-.19***	-.10*	.05	.06
4. Old-fashioned homonegativity	2.88	1.53				-.16***	-.30***	-.10*	-.07	-.01
5. Intergroup contact	2.20	1.29					.04	.12*	.15**	.13**
6. Gender	0.002	.50						-.02	-.04	.02
7. Age	43.41	15.53							.05	.17***
8. Education	4.13	1.51								.19***
9. Settlement size	2.82	1.47								

Note. N = 486. Gender coded -0.50 for men and 0.50 for women.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

9.3.2.2. Main analyses

9.3.2.2.1. Analytical strategy

The logic of analysis followed the steps taken in previous studies; we tested a range of saturated path models using the MLR estimator.[77] The analyses were performed separately for solidarity-based collective action and collective action against LGBT rights. First, collective action was regressed on intergroup contact. Next, modern and old-fashioned homonegativity were specified as the mediators. Finally, covariates were introduced into the models. Modern and old-fashioned homonegativity, intergroup contact, age, education and settlement size were mean-centered prior to the analysis. When solidarity-based collective action served as the DV, we detected a single outlying observation and deleted it from the analyses below.[78] There were no outliers in the model of collective action against LGBT rights.

9.3.2.2.2. Hypotheses testing

Antecedents of solidarity-based collective action. First, we tested a model with intergroup contact as the focal predictor and solidarity-based collective action as the DV (Table 20, Model 1). Similar to Studies 4 and 5, intergroup contact predicted solidarity-based collective action positively, $B = 0.20$, $SE = 0.06$, 95% CI [0.08, 0.32], $p = .001$, confirming H17. In Model 2 (Table 20, Figure 16), modern and old-fashioned homonegativity were introduced as the intervening variables. Although the direct effect of intergroup contact on solidarity-based collective action decreased, it remained significant, $B = 0.14$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [0.04, 0.23], $p = .004$. Furthermore, DV was predicted negatively by the modern type of sexual prejudice, $B = -0.78$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [-0.88, -0.69], $p < .001$, which was in line with

[77] Mardia's multivariate skewness ($\chi^2 = 318.99$, $p < .001$) and kurtosis ($Z = 2.44$, $p = .015$) tests demonstrated the violation of multivariate normality condition in the present data.

[78] Including this observation in the analyses did not change the restults in a meaningful way.

H15. Unexpectedly, old-fashioned homonegativity exerted a positive effect on solidarity-based collective action, $B = 0.14$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [0.05, 0.23], $p = .002$. The intervening variables differed significantly in their effects on the DV, $\chi^2(1) = 90.03$, $p < .001$. Finally, intergroup contact served as the negative predictor of modern ($B = -0.12$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [-0.21, -0.02], $p = .015$) and old-fashioned ($B = -0.19$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [-0.29, -0.08], $p < .001$) homonegativity, which was in line with the previous studies.

As far as the indirect effects are concerned, intergroup contact promoted solidarity based collective action by decreasing modern homonegativity, $IE = 0.09$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI [0.02, 0.16], $Z = 2.42$, $p = .016$, corroborating H18. However, there was also negative effect of intergroup contact via old-fashioned homonegativity, $IE = -0.03$, $SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [-0.05, -0.01], $Z = -2.42$, $p = .015$.[79] The two indirect effects differed significantly, $\chi^2(1) = 7.37$, $p = .007$.

Controlling for gender, age, education and settlement size did not change the results substantially (Table 20, Model 3). Intergroup contact increased solidarity-based collective action by lowering the modern type of sexual prejudice ($IE = 0.09$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI [0.02, 0.15], $Z = 2.46$, $p = .014$). At the same time, the indirect effect via old-fashioned homonegativity remained negative and significant, $IE = -0.02$, $SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [-0.04, -0.004], $Z = -2.31$, $p = .021$.

[79] When ML and bootstrapping (5,000 re-samples were used to estimate confidence intervals for the indirect effects, intergroup contact still increased solidarity-based collective action by lowering both modern ($IE = 0.09$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI [0.01, 0.16], $Z = 2.41$, $p = .016$). The negative indirect effect through old-fashioned homonegativity also remained significant, $IE = -0.03$, $SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [-0.06, -0.01], $Z = -2.32$, $p < .020$.

Table 20

The effects of intergroup contact, modern homonegativity and old-fashioned homonegativity on solidarity-based collective action (Study 6)

	Model 1		Model 2	
Predictors	Solidarity-based CA	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Solidarity-based CA
	B (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	2.49 (0.12)***	0.00 (0.07)	0.00 (0.06)	2.52 (0.06)***
Modern homonegativity				-0.78 (0.05)***
Old-fashioned homonegativity				0.15 (0.05)**
Intergroup contact	0.20 (0.06)**	-0.19 (0.05)***	-0.12 (0.05)*	0.14 (0.05)**
Gender				
Age				
Education				
Settlement size				
-2 log-likelihood	1819.26		4845.28	

Note. *Ns* = 485. CA = collective action. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Intergroup contact, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, age, education, and settlement size were centered prior to the analysis. Gender coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 20 (continued)

The effects of intergroup contact, modern homonegativity and old-fashioned homonegativity on solidarity-based collective action (Study 6)

	Model 3		
Predictors	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Solidarity-based CA
	B (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	0.003 (0.07)	0.002 (0.06)	2.52 (0.06)***
Modern homonegativity			-0.79 (0.05)***
Old-fashioned homonegativity			0.15 (0.04)**
Intergroup contact	-0.16 (0.05)**	-0.11 (0.05)*	0.14 (0.05)**
Gender	-0.91 (0.13)***	-0.50 (0.12)***	0.10 (0.12)
Age	-0.09 (0.04)*	-0.10 (0.04)**	-0.05 (0.04)
Education	-0.07 (0.05)	0.05 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
Settlement size	0.04 (0.05)	0.08 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)
-2 log-likelihood		12375.15	

Note. *Ns* = 485. CA = collective action. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Intergroup contact, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, age, education, and settlement size were centered prior to the analysis. Gender coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

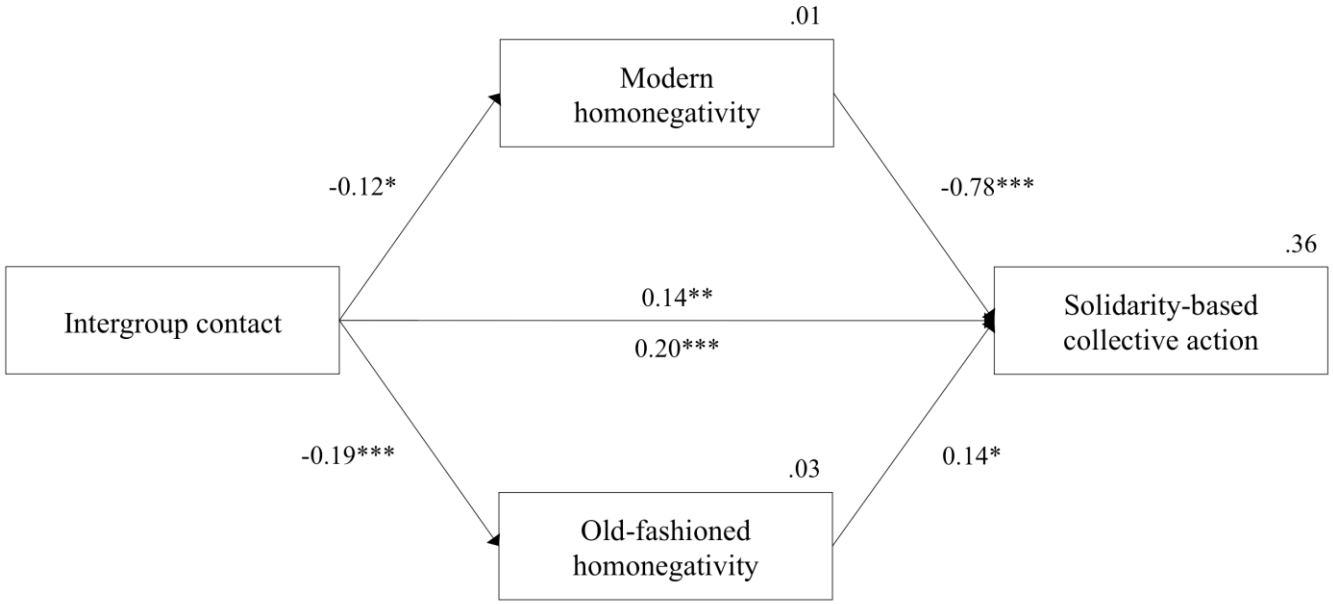

Figure 16. Antecedents of solidarity-based collective action (Study 6).

Note. The figure displays the unstandardized estimates for Model 2 (Table 20). The estimates below and above the path from intergroup contact to solidarity-based collective action represent the total and the direct effect of intergroup contact, respectively. Residuals of old-fashioned and modern homonegativity were allowed to correlate.
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Antecedents of collective action against LGBT rights. Next, we tested a series of models with collective action against LGBT rights as the DV. As shown in Model 1 (Table 21, Figure 17), intergroup contact was unrelated to collective action against LGBT rights, B = -0.07, SE = 0.06, 95% CI [-0.14, 0.03], p = .190. Thus, H35 – assuming that positive contact with a sexual minority representative reduces willingness to demand the limitation of LGBT rights – did not receive support.

When we added the two types of sexual prejudice into the model (Table 21, Model 2, Figure 17), collective action against LGBT minority rights was predicted positively by old-fashioned homonegativity (B = 0.60, SE = 0.06, 95% CI [0.49, 0.71], p < .001), which confirmed H32. On the other hand, modern homonegativity did not affect the DV, B = -0.03, SE = 0.06, 95% CI [-0.15, 0.09], p = .585. The two types of sexual prejudice differed significantly in their effects ($\chi^2(1) = 32.78$, p < .001), confirming the strong version of H33. At the same time, intergroup contact lowered modern (B = -0.12, SE = 0.05, 95% CI [-0.21, -0.02], p = .015) and old-fashioned (B = -0.19, SE = 0.05, 95% CI [-0.29, -0.08], p < .001) homonegativity, but not the DV, B = 0.04, SE = 0.05, 95% CI [-0.05, 0.13], p = .422. By lowering old-fashioned homonegativity, intergroup contact exerted a negative indirect effect on collective action against LGBT rights (IE = -0.11, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [-0.18, -0.05], Z = -3.36, p = .001), corroborating H35. On the other hand, modern homonegativity did not mediate contact effect on the DV, IE = 0.004, SE = .01, 95% CI [-0.01, 0.02], Z = 0.53, p = .594.[80] Notably, indirect effects via the two types of homonegativity differed significantly ($\chi^2(1) = 10.70$, p = .001), which provided strong evidence in favour of H36.

[80] When ML and bootstrapping (5,000 resamples) were used to estimate the bias-corrected confidence intervals for the indirect effects, intergroup contact limited collective action against LGBT rights by lowering old-fashioned (IE = -0.11, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [-0.18, -0.05],

Adding covariates into the equation did not affect the results in a meaningful way. Intergroup contact lowered collective action against LGBT rights through limiting old-fashioned (*IE* = -0.09, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.15, -0.03], *Z* = -2.98, *p* = .003) but not modern (*IE* = 0.004, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.01, 0.02], *Z* = 0.57, *p* = .568) homonegativity.

9.3.2.3. Supplementary analyses

When the item referring to the Equality Parade was excluded from the measure of modern homonegativity (α = .90), the results did not change in any meaningful way. Intergroup contact simultaneously stimulated solidarity-based collective action by decreasing modern homonegativity (*IE* = 0.08, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.16], *Z* = 2.27, *p* = .023) and inhibited it by lowering old-fashioned homonegativity, *IE* = -0.03, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.05, =-0.004], *Z* = -2.30, *p* = .021. As far as collective action against LGBT rights was concerned, intergroup contact limited this type of engagement by lowering old-fashioned homonegativity (*IE* = -0.11, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.18, -0.05], *Z* = -3.36, *p* = .001) but not by affecting modern homonegativity, *IE* = 0.003, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.01, 0.02], *Z* = 0.51, *p* = .609.

Z = -3.30, *p* =.001) but not modern homonegativity, *IE* = 0.004, *SE* = 0.13, 95% CI [-0.01, 0.02], *Z* = 0.48, *p* = .630.

Table 21

The effects of intergroup contact, modern homonegativity and old-fashioned homonegativity on collective action against LGBT rights (Study 6)

	Model 1		Model 2	
Predictors	Collective action against LGBT rights	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Collective action against LGBT rights
	B (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	2.43 (0.07)***	0.00 (0.07)	0.00 (0.06)	2.43 (0.06)***
Modern homonegativity				-0.03 (0.06)
Old-fashioned homonegativity				0.60 (0.06)***
Intergroup contact	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.19 (0.05)***	-0.12 (0.05)*	0.04 (0.05)
Gender				
Age				
Education				
Settlement size				
-2 log-likelihood	1846.46		9867.03	

Note. *Ns* = 486. CA = collective action. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Intergroup contact, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, age, education, and settlement size were centered prior to the analysis. Gender coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.
*** $p < .001$. * $p < .05$.

Table 21 (continued)

The effects of intergroup contact, modern homonegativity and old-fashioned homonegativity on collective action against LGBT rights (Study 6)

	Model 3		
Predictors	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Collective action against LGBT rights
	B (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	0.002 (0.07)	0.001 (0.06)	2.43 (0.06)***
Modern homonegativity			-0.04 (0.06)
Old-fashioned homonegativity			0.57 (0.06)***
Intergroup contact	-0.16 (0.05)*	-0.11 (0.05)*	0.06 (0.05)
Gender	-0.91 (0.13)***	-0.50 (0.12)***	-0.29 (0.13)*
Age	-0.09 (0.04)*	-0.10 (0.04)*	-0.11 (0.04)**
Education	-0.06 (0.05)	0.05 (0.04)	0.001 (0.04)
Settlement size	0.04 (0.05)	0.08 (0.04)	-0.08 (0.04)
-2 log-likelihood		12440.51	

Note. *Ns* = 486. CA = collective action. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Intergroup contact, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, age, education, and settlement size were centered prior to the analysis. Gender coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

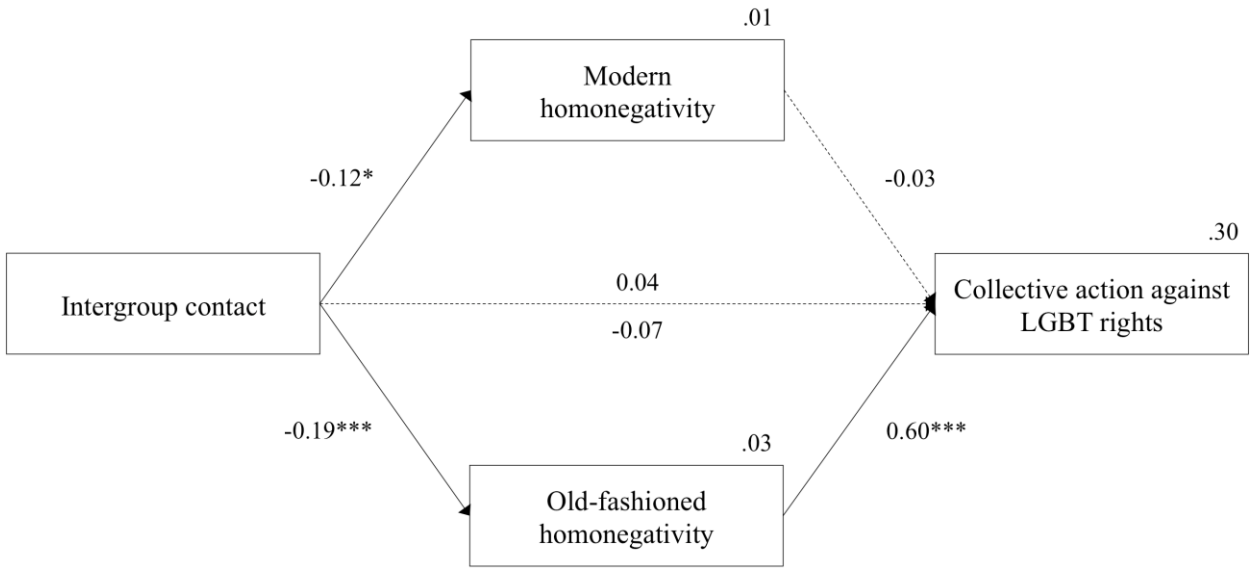

Figure 17. Antecedents of collective action against LGBT rights (Study 6).

Note. The figure displays the unstandardized estimates for Model 2 (Table 21). The estimates below and above the path from intergroup contact to solidarity-based collective action represent the total and the direct effect of intergroup contact, respectively. Dashed lines denote nonsignificant coefficients. Residuals of old-fashioned and modern homonegativity were allowed to correlate.
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

9.3.3. Discussion

The aim of Study 6 was to delineate the micro-level antecedents of collective action against LGBT rights and replicate the findings of Studies 4 and 5 as far as solidarity-based engagement was concerned. Using the heterogeneous sample of participants, we showed that collective action against LGBT rights originated from old-fashioned rather than modern homonegativity. By diminishing the traditional type of sexual prejudice, intergroup contact with homosexual men and women was demonstrated to limit anti-LGBT engagement. At the same time, modern homonegativity diminished collective action in solidarity with LGBT people and mediated the positive effect of intergroup contact on this type of engagement.

There are several ways in which Study 6 adds to the literature. First, it justifies differentiating between the two types of outgroup-related collective action. As suggested by the results of factor analysis and the divergent contributions of explanatory variables, solidarity-based engagement and collective action against the low-status out-group formed two separate phenomena. This is an important finding, as past research focused predominantly on solidarity-based engagement (e.g., Reimer et al., 2017) and only a handful of studies investigated collective action against the *improvement* of an out-group's disadvantaged position (Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2007). By contrast, collective action intended to *worsen* the conditions of the low-status out-group has not been examined so far. [81] Since this type of engagement is the case not only in LGBT context (e.g., Grigoryants, 2017), it seems important to elucidate its psychological and structural underpinnings. Study 6 partially attains this goal by pointing to blatant, traditional prejudice (i.e., old-fashioned homonegativity) as the proximal source of collective action taken to impair the conditions of the low-status out-

[81] The potential differences between collective action taken to stop out-group's emancipation and engagement intended to worsen out-group's situation are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 12.

group. Moreover, current results suggest that intergroup contact may inhibit this type of engagement by limiting old-fashioned prejudice.

Furthermore, Study 6 offers additional evidence for divergent validity of the old-fashioned and the modern type of sexual prejudice (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). In line with our expectations, old-fashioned homonegativity was more closely related to collective action against LGBT rights as compared to its modern counterpart. At the same time, modern homonegativity was more predictive of solidarity-based collective action, which replicated the results of Studies 4 and 5.

Next, present findings contribute to the literature on anti-LGBT political behaviour. Whereas past research examined solely the antecedents of anti-LGBT voting (Abrajano, 2010; Barth et al., 2008), Study 6 identifies the structural and psychological sources of collective action. Given that demonstrations or petitions intended to limit the rights of sexual and gender minorities are more frequent than referenda of similar aim, our findings illuminate the underpinnings of a relatively common phenomenon that has not been investigated so far. Importantly, the present work goes beyond cataloguing the sources of anti-LGBT political behaviour by comparing the relative strength of specific predictors and pointing to processes that lead to collective action against LGBT rights.

However, some results obtained in Study 6 require further comment. Contrary to our expectations, intergroup contact was unrelated to collective action against LGBT rights. Although mediation analysis revealed that intergroup contact impeded anti-LGBT engagement by lowering old-fashioned homonegativity, the correlation between intergroup contact, and this type of collective action did not reach significance. This result suggests that engagement aimed to limit the rights of sexual and gender minorities does not depend on having personal positive contact with the representatives of this group. As such, collective action against the out-group may serve as a rare case of negative outgroup-directed behaviour

that is not reduced by intergroup contact (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Alternatively, the true effect of intergroup contact on anti-LGBT engagement could be too small to be detected in Study 6. Given the 80% power and the sample of 486 individuals, only effects larger than *r* = |.09| could reach significance.[82] To check this possibility, we performed Study 7, which employed larger sample in comparison to Study 6.

Furthermore, in contrast to Studies 4 and 5, old-fashioned homonegativity exerted a positive effect on solidarity-based collective action when intergroup contact and modern homonegativity were included in the model (see Table 20, Model 2). Given that the traditional type of sexual prejudice exerted a negative effect on collective action in support of LGBT rights in Studies 4 and 5, we believe that this result originated from a chance factor.

Finally, similar to Studies 4 and 5, Study 6 considered a limited range of micro-level variables that could potentially explain collective action related to LGBT rights. In Chapters 4 and 5 we proposed that, next to sexual prejudice and intergroup contact, engagement in solidarity or against LGBT people might be predicted by politicized identity and network embeddedness. The aim of Study 7 was to investigate the role of these factors.

9.4. Study 7

Study 7 had two major objectives. First, it aimed to check if heterosexual/cisgender individuals' politicized identity and embeddedness in activist network translate into collective action related to LGBT rights. In Chapter 4, we hypothesized that identification with LGBT rights movement and pro-LGBT network embeddedness would increase engagement in solidarity with LGBT people (H14 and H21, respectively). Moreover, we expected that pro-LGBT network embeddedness would promote solidarity-based collective action by enhancing politicized identity (H24) and diminishing modern homonegativity (H22), and that modern

[82] Based on G*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) calculations.

homonegativity would mediate the positive effect of network embeddedness to a greater extent than its old-fashioned counterpart (H23). Similar hypotheses were formulated regarding collective action taken to limit LGBT rights. Specifically, we proposed that anti-LGBT engagement would be increased by identification with anti-LGBT social movement and anti-LGBT network embededness (H31 and H38, respectively). Furthermore, we expected that anti-LGBT network embeddedness would heighten collective action against LGBT rights by strengthening anti-LGBT politicized identity (H41) and intensifying old-fashioned homonegativity (H39). Finally, the old-fashioned type of sexual prejudice was expected to serve as a stronger mediator of the positive relationship between anti-LGBT network embeddedness and anti-LGBT engagement in comparison to modern homonegativity (H40).

Another aim of Study 7 was to replicate the findings of Study 4-6. To do so, next to different types of politicezed identity and network embeddedness, we also assessed intergroup contact as well as modern and old-fashioned homonegativity. Special attention was devoted to relationships that contradicted our expectations in Study 6. Specifically, we sought to check whether intergroup contact remained unrelated to collective action against LGBT rights and if old-fashioned homonegativity exerted a positive effect on solidarity-based engagement when other relevant factors were accounted for.[83]

[83] As reflected by the large sample size (1992 respondents from 346 counties), Study 7 was originally designed as a heterosexual/cisgender majority counterpart of Study 2 – we aimed to check if the two types of outgroup-directed collective action depended on county-level properties such as SMOs. However, the ICCs for the key variables (i.e. intergroup contact, modern homonegativity, old-fashioned homonegativity, solidarity-based collective action and collective action against LGBT rights) did not reach significance (all *p*s > .050), suggesting that the variability in these qualities could not be explained by county-level factors. As such,

9.4.1. Method

9.4.1.1. Participants

The sample consisted of 1992 heterosexual/cisgender individuals (52.5% female, 47.5% male, age range 18 – 88, M = 43.73, SD = 15.30) participating in a Polish online research panel. In terms of education and settlement size, high-school graduates (46.4%) and rural areas residents (37.2%) dominated in the sample. In line with our intentions, sample distribution of gender ($\chi^2(1) = 0.02$, $p = .899$, $V = .002$, $p = .899$) and settlement size ($\chi^2(1) = 1.16$, $p = .281$, $V = .02$, $p = .281$) did not differ from general population (Figures 18 and 19, respectively). On the other hand, the elderly were underrepresented in the sample ($\chi^2(5) = 128.67$, $p < .001$, $V = .18$, $p < .001$; Figure 20).

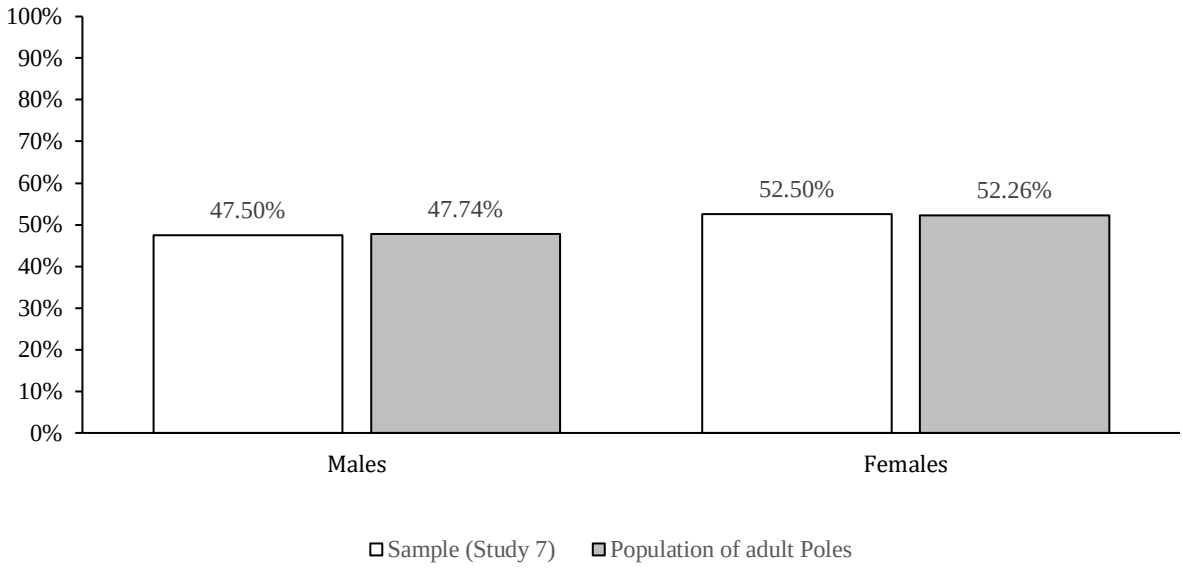

Figure 18. Distribution of gender in the sample (Study 7) and the population of adult Poles.

Note. Data for the population of Poles as of June 30, 2016 (GUS, 2016).

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we decided not to employ multilevel modelling as an analytical technique and pursued individual-level analyses only.

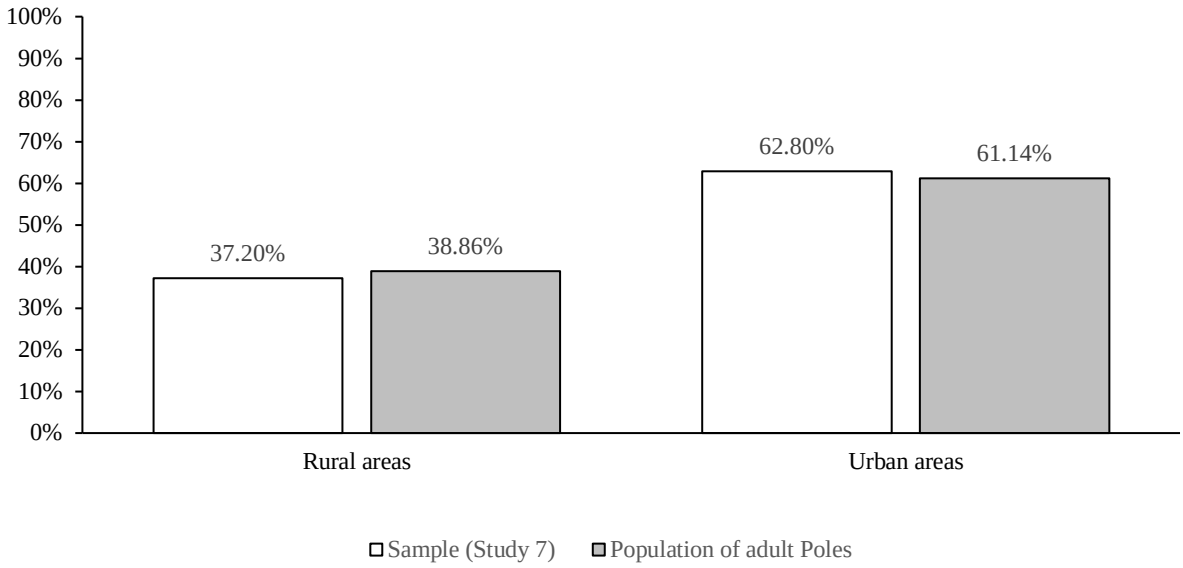

Figure 19. Distribution of settlement size in the sample (Study 7) and the population of adult Poles.

Note. Data for the population of Poles as of June 30, 2016 (GUS, 2016).

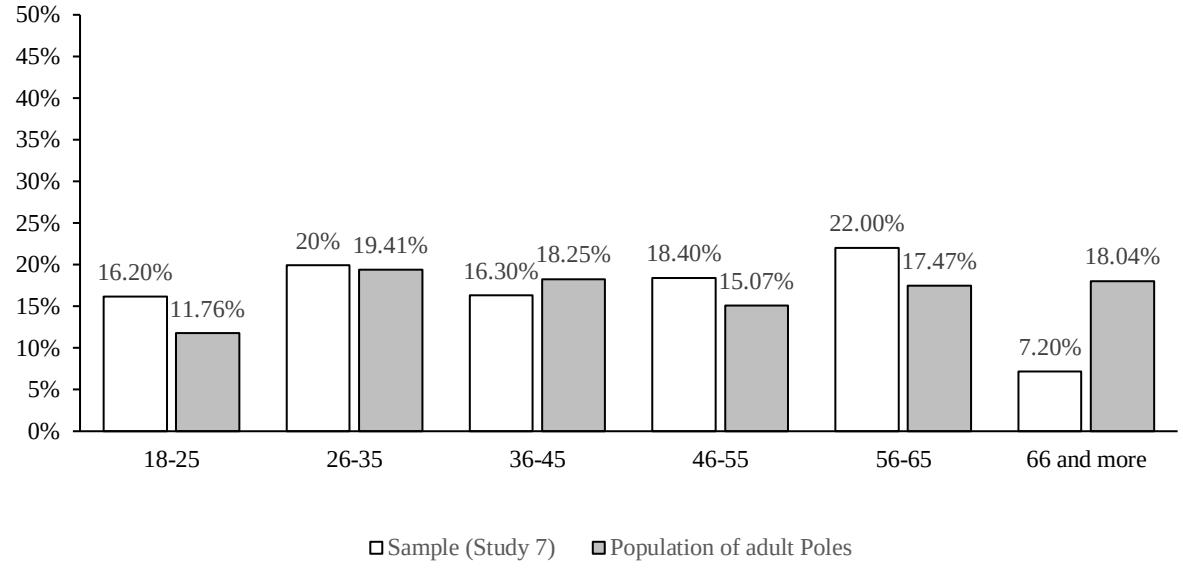

Figure 20. Distribution of age in the sample (Study 7) and the population of adult Poles.

Note. Data for the population of Poles as of June 30, 2016 (GUS, 2016).

9.4.1.2. Measures

Unless otherwise noted, all items were rated on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*)

Independent variables. Intergroup contact was assessed with two questions: "How many LGBT individuals do you know?" and "How many LGBT friends do you have?" (r = .56, $p < .001$). Participants recorded their responses on a 7-point scale (1 = *zero*, 2 = *one*, 3 = *two*, 4 = *three*, 5 = *four*, 6 = *five*, 7 = *six or more*). Pro-LGBT and anti-LGBT social embeddedness were measured with a single question each: "Do you know a person who is engaged in the events (e.g. protests, demonstrations, web-based campaigns) supporting LGBT rights in Poland? / demanding the restriction of LGBT rights in Poland?". The response scale involved seven options (0 = *No, I don't*, 1 = *Yes, one*, 2 = *Yes, two*, 3 = *Yes, three*, 4 = *Yes, four*, 5 = *Yes, five*, 6 = *Yes, six or more*).

Mediators. Old-fashioned homonegativity was assessed with four items used in Studies 4 – 6 (α = .80). To tap on modern homonegativity, we employed an 11-item scale applied in Studies 4 and 6 (α = .90)[84]. Pro-LGBT politicized identity was measured with a three-item scale: "I have a lot in common with the members of LGBT rights movement", "I often think about the fact that I am a member of LGBT rights movement", and "I feel solidarity with the members LGBT rights movement" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*, α = .87). Likewise, three items were employed to assess anti-LGBT politicized identity (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*, α = .88): "I have a lot in common with the

[84] Although the EFA using principal axis factoring revealed three factors that accounted for 43.49%, 8.84% and 5.76% of variability, respectively, the fit of the CFA model with old-fashioned and modern homonegativity factors was acceptable, $\chi^2(86) = 935.47$, CFI = .92, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .06. Therefore, we concluded that 15 homonegativity items employed in Study 7 measured two distinct constructs.

members of LGBT rights restriction movement", "I often think about the fact that I am a member of LGBT rights restriction movement", and "I feel solidarity with the members of LGBT rights restriction movement"[85].

Dependent variables. To assess solidarity-based collective action we asked participants how likely it was that they would get involved in three activities (i.e. petition signing, joining a demonstration, informational materials distribution) to extend LGBT rights (1 = *very unlikely*, 7 = *very likely*, $\alpha = .89$). The same three activities were employed to measure collective action against LGBT rights. We asked participants to report how likely it was that they would engage in each of them to restrict LGBT rights (1 = *very unlikely*, 7 = *very likely*, $\alpha = .92$)[86].

Covariates. Covariates involved gender (coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women), age, education, subjective economic situation and settlement size. Participants' age was calculated on the basis of the declared year of birth. Education was assessed as the number of years of full-time education. To measure subjective economic situation, we asked participants to report their households' economic status on a 10-point scale (1 = *the lowest possible*, 10 = *the highest possible*). Settlement size was recorded on a 5-point scale (1 = *rural area*, 2 = *small town (up to 19,999 residents)*, 3 = *medium-size town (20,000 – 99,999 residents)*, 4 = *large town (100,000 – 499,999 residents)*, 5 = *large city (at least 500,000 residents)*).

There was no missing data in the current study.

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[85] In principal axis factoring EFA, six pro- and anti-LGBT politicized identity items formed two separate factors that accounted for 24.01% and 48.41% of variablity, respectively.

[86] Six items measuring solidarity-based collective action and collective action against LGBT righta formed two factors in principal exis factoring EFA. While the solidarity-based collective action factor explained 53.46% of variance, the collective action against LGBT rights factor accounted for 25.50% of variability.

9.4.2. Results

9.4.2.1. Preliminary results

Table 22 presents the means, standard deviations and intercorrelations for the variables assessed in Study 7. Solidarity-based collective action correlated positively with intergroup contact (r = .42, p < .001), pro-LGBT network embeddedness (r = .39, p < .001) and LGBT rights movement identity (r = .71, p < .001), as well as negatively with modern (r = -.54, p < .001) and old-fashioned homonegativity, r = -.28, p < .001. On the other hand, collective action against LGBT rights was associated positively with modern (r = .17, p < .001) and old-fashioned homonegativity (r = .38, p < .001), anti-LGBT politicized identity (r = .68, p < .001) and anti-LGBT network embeddedness (r = .23, p < .001), as well as negatively with intergroup contact, r = -.05, p = .038. Interestingly, there was a positive relationship between the two types of collective action related to LGBT rights, r = .30, p < .001.

Similar to Studies 4-6, gender differentiated a number of variables. In comparison to women, men were less willing to engage in solidarity-based collective action (M_{men} = 2.21, SD_{men} = 1.56, M_{women} = 2.52, SD_{women} = 1.72, t(1989.89) = -4.18, p < .001, d = -0.19), displayed lower pro-LGBT politicized identity (M_{men} = 2.47, SD_{men} = 1.54, M_{women} = 2.67, SD_{women} = 1.55, t(1990) = -2.85, p = .004, d = -0.13), had less intergorup contact with LGBT individuals (M_{men} = 3.06, SD_{men} = 1.24, M_{women} = 3.53, SD_{women} = 1.30, t(1984.35) = -8.29, p < .001, d = -0.37), manifested higher modern (M_{men} = 4.48, SD_{men} = 1.37, M_{women} = 4.05, SD_{women} = 1.29, t(1940.08) = 7.16, p < .001, d = 0.32) and old-fashioned (M_{men} = 3.22, SD_{men} = 1.53, M_{women} = 2.46, SD_{women} = 1.38, t(1910.85) = 11.50, p < .001, d = 0.52) homonegativity, showed stronger anti-LGBT politicized identity (M_{men} = 2.65, SD_{men} = 1.69, M_{women} = 2.18, SD_{women} = 1.48, t(1885.92) = 6.58, p < .001, d = 0.30) and were more willing to engage in collective action to limit LGBT rights, (M_{men} = 2.25, SD_{men} = 1.73, M_{women} = 1.87, SD_{women} =

1.43, $t(1834.76) = 5.31$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.24$). There were no significant differences regarding pro- ($M_{men} = 0.69$, $SD_{men} = 1.48$, $M_{women} = 0.72$, $SD_{women} = 1.47$, $t(1990) = -0.40$, $p = .690$, $d = -0.02$) and anti-LGBT ($M_{men} = 0.55$, $SD_{men} = 1.43$, $M_{women} = 0.49$, $SD_{women} = 1.31$, $t(1990) = 1.00$, $p = .316$, $d = 0.04$) network embeddedness.

9.4.2.2. Main analyses

9.4.2.2.1. Analytical strategy

Again, a series of saturated path models was tested. Following Study 6, we performed separate analyses for solidarity-based engagement and collective action against LGBT rights as the DVs. First, collective action was regressed on its structural antecedents – network embeddedness and intergroup contact. Next, pro-LGBT politicized identity as well as modern and old-fashioned homonegativity – the psychological catalysts of engagement – were added as the mediators. Finally, we adjusted for the covariates. As in Studies 1-6, we employed the MLR estimator to account for the deviations from multivariate normality.[87] Continuous variables (i.e., age, education, subjective economic situation, settlement size, intergroup contact, social embeddedness, modern and old-fashioned homonegativity, politicized identity) were mean-centered prior to the analysis. Results presented below are based on restricted samples with outliers excluded.[88]

[87] As shown by Mardia's multivariate skewness ($\chi^2 = 7263.22$, $p < .001$) and kurtosis ($Z = 65.07$, $p < .001$) tests, the present data was not multivariate normal.

[88] Sample diagnostics identified 16 and 30 outliers (observations with standardized residuals greater than three standard deviations from the mean; see Barnett & Lewis, 1994) for the models of solidarity-based engagement and collective action against LGBT rights, respectively. Including these observations in the analyses did not affect the final conclusions.

Table 22

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the variables assessed in Study 7

	M	*SD*	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
1. Solidarity-based CA	2.37	1.65	.30***	.71***	.20***	-.54***	-.28***	.39***	.25***	.42***	.09***	.01	-.07**	.17***	.03
2. CA against LGBT minority	2.05	1.59		.25***	.68***	.17***	.38***	.08***	.23***	-.05*	-.12***	-.13***	-.04	.23***	-.01
3. Pro-LGBT politicized identity	2.58	1.55			.28***	-.51***	-.21***	.34***	.22***	.38***	.06**	-.02	-.05*	.19***	-.01
4. Against-LGBT politicized identity	2.40	1.60				.20***	.42***	.05*	.17***	-.09***	-.15***	-.13***	-.02	.22***	-.06**
5. Modern homonegativity	4.25	1.34					.59***	-.23***	-.07**	-.37***	-.16***	-.10***	.07**	.02	.01
6. Old-fashioned homonegativity	2.82	1.50						-.14***	.01	-.45***	-.25***	-.15***	-.03	.10***	-.05*
7. Pro-LGBT social embeddedness	0.71	1.48							.60***	.42***	.01	.03	.04	.10***	.09***
8. Against-LGBT social embeddedness	0.52	1.37								.26***	-.02	-.03	.02	.12***	.07***
9. Intergroup contact	3.31	1.30									.18***	.05*	.07**	.07**	.09***
10. Gender	0.53	0.50										.05*	.00	-.09***	.02
11. Age	43.73	15.30											-.03	-.12***	.04
12. Education	14.76	2.69												.13***	.09***
13. SES	4.47	1.94													-.01
14. Settlement size	2.55	1.45													

Note. N = 1992. CA = collective action. SES = Subjective economic situation.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

9.4.2.2.2. Hypotheses testing

Antecedents of solidarity-based collective action. First, we tested a saturated path model with intergroup contact and pro-LGBT social embeddednes as the independent variables and solidarity-based collective action as the DV (Table 23, Model 1). Both intergroup contact (B = 0.42, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [0.36, 0.47], p < .001) and pro-LGBT embeddedness (B = 0.31, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [0.25, 0.36], p < .001) predicted solidarity-based collective action positively, which was in line with H17 and H21, respectively. Next (Table 23, Model 2, Figure 21), the psychological antecedents of engagement were added into the model. Solidarity-based collective action was regressed on intergroup contact and pro-LGBT social embeddedness (structural antecedents) as well as old-fashioned homonegativity, modern homonegativity and pro-LGBT politicized identity (psychological antecedents). At the same time, psychological antecedents of collective action were regressed on structural variables.

In comparison to Model 1 (Table 23), the direct effects of intergroup contact (B = 0.14, SE = 0.02, 95% CI [0.09, 0.19], p < .001) and pro-LGBT social embeddedness (B = 0.15, SE = 0.02, 95% CI [0.11, 0.19], p < .001) on the DV decreased but remained significant. Furthermore, solidarity-based collective action was predicted positively by pro-LGBT politicized identity (B = 0.59, SE = 0.02, 95% CI [0.54, 0.63], p < .001), which corroborated H14 and matched past results (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2008) and. In line with H15, solidarity-based collective action was predicted negatively by modern (B = -0.24, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [-0.29, -0.20], p < .001) but not by old-fashioned (B = 0.02, SE = 0.02, 95% CI [-0.02, 0.06], p = .264) homonegativity. Following the pattern observed in previous studies, the effects of the two types of sexual prejudice differed significantly ($\chi^2(1) = 50.62$, p < .001), confirming H16. At the same time, intergroup contact exerted a positive effect on pro-LGBT politicized identity (B = 0.34, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [0.29, 0.40], p < .001), and negative effects

on modern (*B* = -0.35, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.40, -0.30], *p* < .001) and old-fashioned (*B* = -0.55, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.60, -0.49], *p* < .001). As far as pro-LGBT social embeddedness was concerned, it increased pro-LGBT politicized identity (*B* = 0.23, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.18, 0.28], *p* < .001), and decreased modern sexual prejudice, *B* = -0.09, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.13, -0.04], *p* < .001. Unexpectedly, pro-LGBT social embeddedness exerted a positive effect on old-fashioned homonegativity, *B* = 0.05, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.10], *p* = .019. Perhaps, this result may be explained as a backlash against the progressive views existing in one's social network.

In terms of indirect effects, pro-LGBT social embeddedness promoted solidarity-based collective action by heightening pro-LGBT politicized identity (*IE* = 0.13, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.10, 0.16], *Z* = 8.66, *p* < .001), which supported H24.[89] Moreover, the effect of pro-LGBT social embeddedness was mediated by the decrease of modern prejudice (*IE* = 0.02, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.03], *Z* = 3.72, *p* < .001), which was in line with H22.[90] By contrast, old-fashioned homonegativity did not intervene in the relationship between pro-LGBT social embeddedness and the DV, *IE* = 0.001, *SE* = 0.001, 95% *CI* [-0.001, 0.003], *Z* = 1.01, *p* = .314.[91] Importantly, the indirect effect of network embeddedness via modern

[89] When confidence intervals were estimated with ML and bootstrapping (5,000 re-samples), the indirect effect was also significant, *IE* = 0.13, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.10, 0.16], *Z* = 8.62, *p* < .001.

[90] When confidence intervals were estimated with ML and bootstrapping (5,000 re-samples), the indirect effect was also significant, *IE* = 0.02, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.03], *Z* = 3.68, *p* < .001.

[91] The effect did not reach significance when confidence intervals were estimated with ML and bootstrapping (5,000 re-samples), *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.03, 0.01], *Z* = -1.51, *p* = .250.

homonegativity was significantly stronger than the indirect effect via old-fashioned homonegativity ($\chi^2(1) = 6.84$, $p = .009$), which was in line with H23. The comparison of significant indirect effects revealed that pro-LGBT social embeddedness affected solidarity-based collective action more strongly by promoting politicized identity than diminishing modern homonegativity, $\chi^2(1) = 57.90$, $p < .001$. This result suggests that out of two mechanisms through which embeddedness in activist network may foster engagement – development of politicized identity vs. changing one's attitudes toward the disadvantaged out-group – this is identity development that has greater importance. At the same time, intergroup contact increased solidarity-based collective action by heightening pro-LGBT politicized identity (*IE* = 0.20, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.16, 0.24], *Z* = 10.15, $p < .001$) and reducing modern homonegativity, *IE* = 0.09, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.06, 0.11], *Z* = 7.97, $p < .001$, which supported H17 and H18, respectively.[92] On the other hand, old-fashioned sexual prejudice did not mediate the relationship between intergroup contact and the DV, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.03, 0.01], *Z* = -1.11, $p = .265$.[93] In line with H19, intergroup contact indirect effects through modern and old-fashioned homonegativity differed significantly, $\chi^2(1) = 30.32$, $p < .001$. At the same time, the indirect effect of intergroup contact via modern homonegativity was weaker than the analogous effect by politicized identity, $\chi^2(1) = 25.32$, $p < .001$.

[92] Both the effect via politicized identity (*IE* = 0.20, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.17, 0.24], *Z* = 10.18, $p < .001$) and modern homonegativity (*IE* = 0.09, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.07, 0.11], *Z* = 8.02, $p < .001$) were significant when confidence intervals were estimated with ML and bootstrapping (5,000 re-samples).

[93] The indirect effect via old-fashioned homonegativity remained nonsignificant when we used ML and bootstrapping, *IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.03, 0.01], *Z* = -1.15, $p = .250$).

Table 23

The effects of intergroup contact, network embeddedness, homonegativity and politicized identity on solidarity-based collective action (Study 7)

Predicted variables	Model 1	Model 2			
	Solidarity- based collective action	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Pro-LGBT politicized identity	Solidarity-based collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercepts	1.44 (0.02)***	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	2.37 (0.02)***
Intergroup contact	0.33 (0.02)***	-0.55 (0.03)***	-0.35 (0.03)***	0.35 (0.03)***	0.14 (0.02)***
Pro-LGBT network embeddedness	0.27 (0.03)***	0.05 (0.02)*	-0.09 (0.02)***	0.23 (0.03)***	0.15 (0.02)***
Old-fashioned homonegativity					0.02 (0.02)
Modern homonegativity					-0.25 (0.03)***
Pro-LGBT politicized identity					0.59 (0.02)***
Gender					
Age					
Education					
Subjective economic situation					
Settlement size					
R^2	.25	.20	.15	.18	.61
-2 log-likelihood	20340.30		38115.45		

Note. *N* = 1976. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Intergroup contact, pro-LGBT social embeddedness, pro-LGBT politicized identity, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, age, education, subjective economic situation and settlement size were centered prior to the analysis. Gender coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 23

The effects of intergroup contact, network embeddedness, homonegativity and politicized identity on solidarity-based collective action (Study 7)

Predicted variables	Model 3			
	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Pro-LGBT politicized identity	Solidarity-based collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercepts	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.002 (0.03)	2.37 (0.02)***
Intergroup contact	-0.50 (0.03)***	-0.33 (0.03)***	0.34 (0.03)***	0.14 (0.02)***
Pro-LGBT network embeddedness	0.03 (0.02)	-0.10 (0.02)***	0.22 (0.03)***	0.15 (0.02)***
Old-fashioned homonegativity				0.01 (0.02)
Modern homonegativity				-0.25 (0.03)***
Pro-LGBT politicized identity				0.57 (0.02)***
Gender	-0.48 (0.06)***	-0.26 (0.06)***	0.08 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)
Age	-0.01 (0.002)***	-0.07 (0.02)***	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Education	-0.11 (0.02)***	0.05 (0.01)***	-0.06 (0.01)***	-0.03 (0.01)**
Subjective economic situation	0.08 (0.02)***	0.02 (0.02)	0.13 (0.02)***	0.05 (0.01)**
Settlement size	0.001 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)*	-0.05 (0.02)*	0.02 (0.02)
R^2	.26	.27	.22	.61
-2 log-likelihood	81613.96			

Note. N = 1976. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Intergroup contact, pro-LGBT social embeddedness, pro-LGBT politicized identity, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, age, education, subjective economic situation and settlement size were centered prior to the analysis. Gender coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

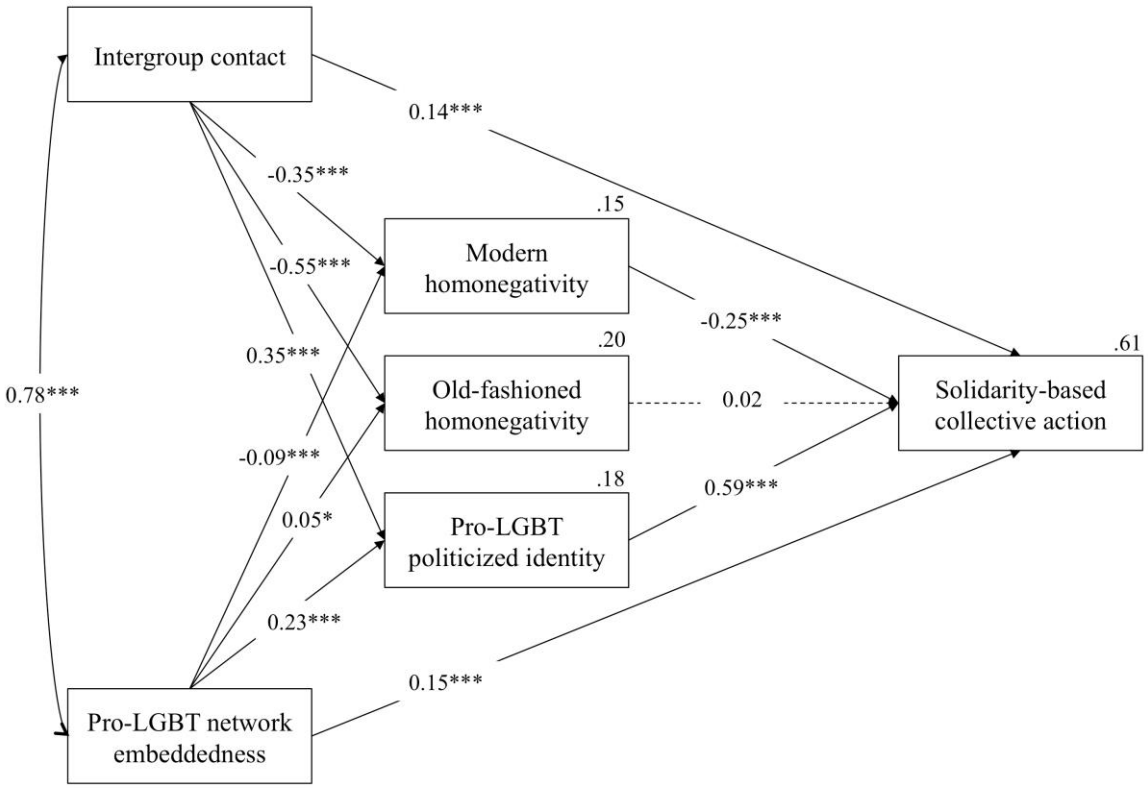

Figure 21. Antecedents of solidarity-based collective action (Study 7).

Note. The figure displays the unstandardized estimates for Model 2 (Table 23). Dashed lines denote nonsignificant coefficients. Residuals of the intervening variables were allowed to correlate.
*** $p < .001$. * $p < .05$.

Adding covariates into the model (Table 23, Model 3) did not affect the results in a substantial way. Solidarity-based collective action was predicted positively by politicized identity ($B = 0.57$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [0.52, 0.62], $p < .001$), intergroup contact ($B = 0.14$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [0.09, 0.18], $p < .001$) and network embeddedness, $B = 0.15$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [0.11, 0.19], $p < .001$, and negatively by modern homonegativity ($B = -0.25$, $SE = 0.03$, 95% CI [-0.30, -0.20], $p < .001$). At the same time, modern homonegativity was decreased by intergroup contact ($B = -0.33$, $SE = 0.03$, 95% CI [-0.38, -0.28], $p < .001$) and network embeddedness ($B = -0.10$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [-0.14, -0.06], $p < .001$), and politicized identity

was predicted positively by both network embeddedness (*B* = 0.22, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.17, 0.27], *p* < .001) and intergroup contact, *B* = 0.34, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.29, 0.40], *p* < .001. The effect of pro-LGBT network embeddedness on solidarity-based collective action was mediated by pro-LGBT politicized identity (*IE* = 0.13, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.10, 0.15], *Z* = 8.45, *p* < .001) and modern homonegativity (*IE* = 0.02, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.04], *Z* = 4.28, *p* < .001). Indirect effect of intergroup contact via pro-LGBT politicized identity (*IE* = 0.20, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.16, 0.23], *Z* = 10.18, *p* < .001) and modern homonegativity (*IE* = 0.08, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.06, 0.10], *Z* = 7.88, *p* < .001) were also significant.

Antecedents of collective action. In the next part of the analysis, we focused on the antecedents of collective action against LGBT rights. First, collective action intended to limit the rights of LGBT minority was regressed on structural variables. As shown by the results for Model 1 (Table 24), intergroup contact and anti-LGBT social embeddedness exerted oposite effects on collective action against LGBT rights; while intergroup contact decreased (*B* = -0.13, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.19, -0.08], *p* < .001), embeddedness in an anti-LGBT network increased (*B* = 0.29, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [0.22, 0.36], *p* < .001) engagement to limit the rights of LGBT minority.

Next, psychological variables were intoduced into the model. While anti-LGBT politicized identity, old-fashioned homonegativity and modern homonegativity served as the mediators, intergroup contact and against-LGBT network embeddedness were specified as the independent variables (Table 24, Model 2, Figure 22). Adding psychological variables reduced the direct effect of anti-LGBT network embeddedness (*B* = 0.11, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.06, 0.15], *p* < .001) and changed the sign of intergroup contact effect, *B* = 0.04, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.001, 0.08], *p* = .044. In line with H32, collective action against LGBT rights was increased by old-fashioned homonegativity (*B* = 0.14, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.09, 0.18], *p* < .001), but was unrelated to modern homonegativity, *B* = -0.02, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.06,

0.02], p = .306. Importantly, the difference between the effects of the two types of sexual prejudice was significant ($\chi^2(1) = 17.97$, $p < .001$), providing strong evidence in favour of H33. Moreover, collective action against LGBT rights was predicted positively by anti-LGBT politicized identity (B = 0.65, SE = 0.02, 95% CI [0.61, 0.69], $p < .001$), corroborating H31. Anti-LGBT politicized identity was decreased by intergroup contact (B = -0.17, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [-0.23, -0.11], $p < .001$) and increased by anti-LGBT social embeddedness, B = 0.25, SE =0.03, 95% CI [0.19, 0.31], $p < .001$. Similarly, intergroup contact decreased (B = -0.55, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [-0.60, -0.50], $p < .001$) and anti-LGBT network embeddedness increased (B = 0.15, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [0.10, 0.20], $p < .001$) old-fashioned homonegativity. At the same time, modern homonegativity was predicted negatively by intergroup contact (B = -0.39, SE = 0.02, 95% CI [-0.43, -0.34], $p < .001$) and unrelated to against-LGBT network embeddedness, B = 0.03, SE = 0.02, 95% CI [-0.02, 0.07], p = .251.

The positive effect of anti-LGBT network embeddedness on collective action against LGBT rights was mediated by anti-LGBT politicized identity (IE = 0.16, SE = 0.02, 95% CI [0.12, 0.20], Z = 7.44, $p < .001$) and old-fashioned homonegativity (IE = 0.02, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [0.01, 0.03], Z = 4.11, $p < .001$), which confirmed H39 and H41, respectively.[94] By contrast, the modern type of sexual prejudice did not mediate the effect of network embeddedness on the DV, IE = -0.001, SE = 0.001, 95% CI [-0.002, 0.001], Z = -0.75, p =

[94] When confidence intervals were estimated with ML and bootstrapping (5,000 re-samples), anti-LGBT network embeddedness increased collective action against LGBT rights both by increasing anti-LGBT politicized identity (IE = 0.16, SE = 0.02, 95% CI [0.12, 0.21], Z = 7.28, $p < .001$), and promoting old-fashioned homonegativity, IE = 0.02, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [0.01, 0.03], Z = 4.11, $p < .001$.

.455.[95] Interestingly, the effect of anti-LGBT social embeddedness was more strongly mediated by anti-LGBT politicized identity than old-fashioned homonegativity, $\chi^2(1) = 47.65$, $p < .001$. In other words, embeddedness in an anti-LGBT social network promoted collective action against LGBT rights mostly by fostering the development of anti-LGBT politicized identity. At the same time, the negative effect of intergroup contact was mediated by anti-LGBT politicized identity (*IE* = -0.11, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.15, -0.07], *Z* = -5.57, *p* < .001) and old-fashioned homonegativity (*IE* = -0.07, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.10, -0.05], *Z* = -5.71, *p* < .001), corroborating H37 and H35, respectively. On the other hand, modern homonegativity did not serve as the mediator of intergroup contact effect, *IE* = 0.01, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.01, 0.03], *Z* = 1.02, *p* = .307). The indirect effects of intergroup contact via politicized identity and old-fashioned homonegativity did not differ in terms of size, $\chi^2(1) = 2.38$, $p = .123$.[96]

The current results did not change when the covariates were added into the model (Table 24, Model 3). Collective action against LGBT rights was predicted positively by anti-LGBT network embeddedness (*B* = 0.10, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.06, 0.15], *p* < .001), old-fashioned homonegativity (*B* = 0.13, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.08, 0.17], *p* < .001) and anti-

[95] When ML and bootstrapping were used to estimate confidence intervals, the indirect effect via modern homonegativity did not reached significance either, *IE* = -0.001, *SE* = 0.001, 95% *CI* [-0.004, 0.00], *Z* = -0.62, *p* = .535.

[96] When ML and bootstrapping (5,000 re-samples) were used to estimate the confidence intervals, intergroup contact still decreased collective action against LGBT rights by lowering politicized identity (*IE* = -0.11, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.15, -0.07], *Z* = -5.56, *p* < .001) and old-fashioned homonegativity, *IE* = -0.07, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.10, -0.05], *Z* = -5.75, *p* < .001. At the same time, the effect via modern homonegativity did not reach significance, *IE* = 0.01, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.01, 0.03], *Z* = 1.01, *p* = .315.

LGBT politicized identity, *B* = 0.63, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.59, 0.67], *p* < .001. By contrast, intergroup contact (*B* = 0.03, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.01, 0.07], *p* = .122) and modern homonegativity (*B* = -0.02, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.06, 0.03], *p* = .432) did not predict the DV. Anti-LGBT social embeddedness increased collective action against LGBT rights by increasing old-fashioned homonegativity (*IE* = 0.02, *SE* = 0.004, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.02], *Z* = 3.66, *p* < .001) and anti-LGBT politicized identity, *IE* = 0.13, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.10, 0.17], *Z* = 6.85, *p* < .001. At the same time, the negative effect of intergroup contact was mediated by the decrease of old-fashioned prejudice (*IE* = -0.07, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [-0.09, -0.04], *Z* = -5.36, *p* < .001) and anti-LGBT politicized identity, *IE* = -0.09, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.13, -0.05], *Z* = -4.71, *p* < .001.

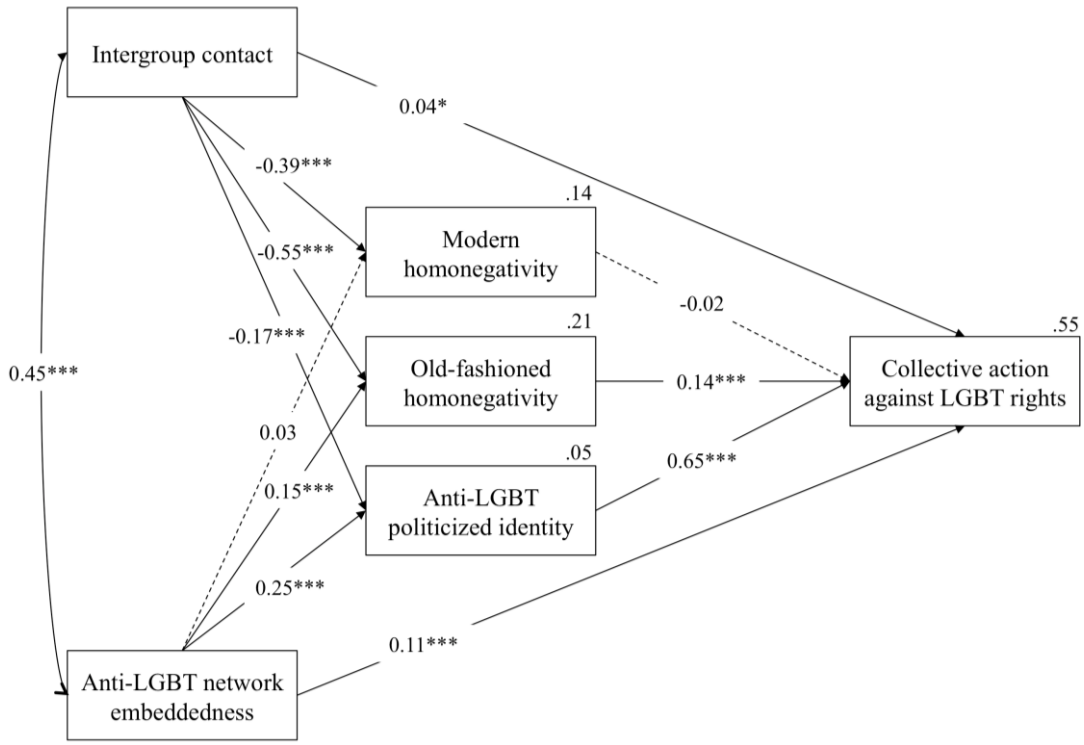

Figure 22. Antecedents of collective action against LGBT minority (Study 7).

Note. The figure displays the unstandardized estimates for Model 2 (Table 24). Dashed lines denote nonsignificant coefficients. Residuals of the intervening variables were allowed to correlate.
*** *p* < .001. * *p* < .05.

Table 24

The effects of intergroup contact, social embeddedness, homonegativity and politicized identity on collective action against LGBT rights (Study 7)

Predicted variables	Model 1	Model 2			
	Collective action against LGBT rights	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Anti-LGBT politicized identity	Collective action against LGBT rights
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercepts	2.01 (0.03)***	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)	2.01 (0.02)***
Intergroup contact	-0.13 (0.03)***	-0.55 (0.03)***	-0.39 (0.02)***	-0.17 (0.03)***	0.04 (0.02)*
Anti-LGBT social embeddedness	0.29 (0.04)***	0.15 (0.03)***	0.03 (0.02)	0.25 (0.03)***	0.11 (0.02)***
Old-fashioned homonegativity					0.14 (0.02)***
Modern homonegativity					-0.02 (0.02)
Anti-LGBT politicized identity					0.65 (0.02)***
Gender					
Age					
Education					
Subjective economic situation					
Settlement size					
R^2	.06	.21	.14	.05	.55
-2 log-likelihood	20339.74		38313.67		

Note. *N* = 1962. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Intergroup contact, anti-LGBT social embeddedness, anti-LGBT politicized identity, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, age, education, subjective economic situation and settlement size were centered prior to the analysis. Gender coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 24 (continued)

The effects of intergroup contact, social embeddedness, homonegativity and politicized identity on collective action against LGBT rights

(Study 7)

Predicted variables	Model 3			
	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Anti-LGBT politicized identity	Collective action against LGBT rights
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercepts	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	2.01 (0.02)***
Intergroup contact	-0.51 (0.03)***	-0.37 (0.02)***	-0.14 (0.03)***	0.03 (0.02)
Anti-LGBT network embeddedness	0.12 (0.03)***	0.01 (0.02)	0.21 (0.03)***	0.10 (0.02)***
Old-fashioned homonegativity				0.13 (0.02)***
Modern homonegativity				-0.02 (0.02)
Anti-LGBT politicized identity				0.63 (0.02)***
Gender	-0.46 (0.06)***	-0.24 (0.06)***	-0.32 (0.07)***	0.04 (0.05)
Age	-0.10 (0.02)***	-0.07 (0.02)**	-0.10 (0.02)***	-0.04 (0.02)*
Education	-0.01 (0.02)	0.05 (0.01)***	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)*
Subjective economic situation	0.07 (0.02)***	0.01 (0.02)	0.16 (0.02)***	0.06 (0.01)***
Settlement size	-0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.02)*	0.03 (0.02)
R^2	.26	.16	.12	.56
-2 log-likelihood	72496.24			

Note. N = 1962. Entries are non-standardized estimates. Intergroup contact, anti-LGBT social embeddedness, anti-LGBT politicized identity, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, age, education, subjective economic situation and settlement size were centered prior to the analysis. Gender coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

9.4.2.2. Supplementary analyses

One could suggest that, due to the content overlap between the measures of social embeddedness and polticized identity, there is a bias in the present results. Specifically, one of items (i.e., “I have a lot in common with the members of LGBT-rights movement / LGBT-rights restriction movement”) used to gauge the in-group ties component of politicized identity seems reduntant with the measure of network embeddedness. As such, the positive correlations between politicized identity and network embeddedness observed in the present research may be inflated. To preclude this possibility, we repeated the analyses using the purged, two-item measures of pro-LGBT (r = .66, p < .001) and anti-LGBT politicized identity (r = .72, p < .001).

When the restricted measures of politicized identity were employed, pro-LGBT social embeddedness still promoted solidarity-based collective action by increasing pro-LGBT politicized identity, *IE* = 0.16, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.12, 0.19], Z = 8.91, p < .001. Moreover, pro-LGBT politicized identity remained a significant mediator of the positive relationship between intergroup contact and solidarity-based engagement, *IE* = 0.14, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.10, 0.18], Z = 6.81, p < .001. At the same time, anti-LGBT politicized identity still mediated the relationship between anti-LGBT network embeddedness and engagement, *IE* = 0.13, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.09, 0.17], Z = 6.22, p < .001. Furthermore, anti-LGBT politicized identity served as mediator of the negative association between intergroup contact and anti-LGBT collective action, *IE* = -0.04, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.08, -0.002], Z = -2.04, p = .041. To conclude, content overlap between the measures of network embeddedness and politicized identity did not bias the results presented in the previous section.

9.4.3. Discussion

Using a large and heterogeneous sample of heterosexual/cisgender individuals, Study 7 aimed to examine how individual-level structural and psychological characteristics of majority members translate to collective action related to LGBT rights. In accordance with our expectations, structural variables – intergroup contact and embeddedness in activist network – entailed engagement in support of or against minority rights by shaping outgroup-directed attitudes and respective politicized identities.

There are several ways in which Study 7 contributes to the literature. First, present results confirm the role of politicized identity as the proximal source of protest behaviour (van Zomeren et al., 2008). In line with the past results (e.g., Reimer et al., 2017), identification with LGBT rights movement served as the strongest predictor of solidarity-based engagement. Likewise, collective action against LGBT rights was best predicted by anti-LGBT politicized identity.

Second, our findings point to network embeddedness as a unique antecedent of engagement related to LGBT rights. As shown by the present results, both solidarity-based engagement as well as collective action against LGBT rights depended on knowing pro- and anti-LGBT activists, respectively. Importantly, these effects occurred over and above the effect of intergroup contact – another extrapsychic predictor of outgroup-related engagement (e.g. Selvanathan et al., 2017). Mediational analyses revealed two mechanisms linking network embeddedness to collective action. First, in line with past theorizing (e.g., Passy & Monsch, 2014), being acquainted with already engaged individuals facilitated the development of politicized identities, which, in turn, directly led to higher engagement intentions. Second, network embeddedness affected collective action by altering sexual prejudice. The change of attitudes took different shape depending on the political orientation of a given network. Specifically, while knowing pro-LGBT activists stimulated solidarity-

based engagement by diminishing modern homonegativity, embeddedness in anti-LGBT activist network facilitated collective action against LGBT rights by promoting old-fashioned homonegativity. As such, the current results suggest that, despite addressing similar issue (i.e., LGBT rights), pro- and anti-LGBT activist networks are related to different types of sexual prejudice. Maintaining ties with the members of LGBT rights movement is likely to undermine beliefs comprising modern homonegativity, such as discrimination denial or out-group blaming. On the other hand, being interwoven in the network of anti-LGBT activists facilitates the increase of old-fashioned homonegativity, which posits homosexuals as sick, sinful and threatening.

Interestingly, the comparisons of indirect effects showed that network embeddedness stimulates collective action predominantly by fostering politicized identities rather than changing outgroup-related beliefs. This result matches past theorizing (e.g. Kitts, 2000; Passy, 2003) by pointing to identity construction as the central mechanism linking activist networks to protest participation. At the same time, the simultaneous effects of politicized identity and sexual prejudice suggest that the processes initiated by network embeddedness should not be viewed solely through the prism of identity building (Passy & Monsch, 2014).

Third, Study 7 sheds additional light on the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action against LGBT rights. In contrast to Study 6, Study 7 revealed a significant negative relationship between these variables. This discrepancy may be attributed to the fact that Study 7 employed a much larger sample in comparison to Study 6. Across both studies, however, the correlation between intergroup contact and anti-LGBT engagement was rather negligible in terms of size ($r_{Study\ 6}$ = -.06 vs $r_{Study\ 7}$ = -.05). Thus, although present results lent support to H34 – the total effect of intergroup contact on collective action against LGBT rights was negative – having no LGBT friends and acquaintances seems to play a limited role in explaining engagement against this group. Perhaps, anti-LGBT engagement depends to a

greater extent on explicitly negative contact with LGBT people (see Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010).

Notwithstanding the small size of contact effect on anti-LGBT engagement, present results indicate how knowing minority members may inhibit collective action against LGBT rights. One mechanism involves the decrease of old-fashioned homonegativity and has been already demonstrated in Study 6. Another process – the unique contribution of Study 7 – relies on limiting identification with anti-LGBT social movement. As shown by the current results, having LGBT friends or acquaintances entailed distancing from political forces that openly challenge this group. Low anti-LGBT identity, in turn, translated to low intentions to demand the restriction of LGBT rights.

Finally, Study 7 replicates the relationships obtained in Studies 4-6. Most importantly, present results confirm that the two types of sexual prejudice energize different types of collective action. Even when respective politicized identities were controlled for, modern homonegativity was more predictive of solidarity-based engagement, and old-fashioned homonegativity exerted stronger effect on collective action against LGBT rights.

However, some effects registered in Study 7 seem rather counterintuitive. For instance, pro-LGBT network embeddedness was demonstrated to increase old-fashioned homonegativity. Perhaps, this unexpected result may be interpreted in terms of backlash or reactance (Brehm, 1966; Dillard, & Shen, 2005). Specifically, numerous ties with LGBT activists or LGBT allies may form a normative pressure to adopt favourable attitudes toward sexual and gender minorities. Some individuals (e.g., those high in trait reactance) may be motivated to respond to such pressure with the increase of old-fashioned prejudice. Similar explanation may apply to the positive effect of intergroup contact on collective action against LGBT rights that emerged when the psychological antecedents of engagement were controlled for. Namely, when we account for the negative indirect effects of intergroup

contact by anti-LGBT politicized identity and old-fashioned homonegativity, the pressure created by LGBT acquaintances may have an opposite effect and *encourage* collective action against LGBT rights. Certainly, future studies would do well to replicate and explain these findings.

9.5. Results synthesis

Studies 4-7 aimed to identify the individual-level antecedents of the two types of engagement – solidarity-based collective action in favor of LGBT people and collective action against LGBT rights. In general, the results we had obtained support our expectations. In line with H16, solidarity-based collective action was better predicted by modern than old-fashioned homonegativity. On the other hand, the old-fashioned type of sexual prejudice exerted a stronger positive effect on anti-LGBT engagement than its modern counterpart, which corroborated H33. Studies 4-7, however, were not perfectly consistent in terms of results. Contrary to our predictions (and the results of Studies 4, 5 and 7), old-fashioned sexual prejudice assessed in Study 6 increased solidarity-based collective action when other predictors (i.e., intergroup contact and modern homonegativity) were included in the model (see Table 20, Model 2). Furthermore, the negative effect of intergroup contact on anti-LGBT engagement reached significance in Study 7 but not in Study 6. Finally, there was a counterintuitive, positive effect of intergroup contact on collective action against LGBT rights in Study 7 (see Table 24, Model 2), which was not the case in Study 6. One could ask whether these isolated, unexpected effects may undermine the overall conclusion that, in their micro-level part, the hypotheses proposed in Chapters 4 and 5 received support from the data. One way to answer this question is to systematically integrate findings from Studies 4-7, while recognizing the weight of evidence provided by particular studies. In the following sections,

we present the results of such a quantitative synthesis. To perform it, we employed two-stage meta-analytic structural equation modeling (two-stage MASEM; Cheung, 2015a; Jak, 2015).

Two-stage MASEM is a recently developed techique that combines the features of two prominent statistical tools used in social sciences: meta-analysis (e.g. Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein, 2009) and structural equation modeling (SEM; e.g. Bollen, 1989). Like meta-analysis, it integrates information from multiple primary studies to draw more precise, overall conclusions. At the same time, it allows for testing multivariate models, which makes it similar to classical SEM.

As reflected in its name, two-stage MASEM involves two separate steps. In Stage 1, information from multiple primary studies is used to construct a pooled correlation matrix. This outcome of Stage 1 serves as an input for the structural model fitted in Stage 2, with the use of weighted least squares (WLS) estimator. The pooled correlation matrix obtained in Stage 1 may be based on one of two statistical models – the fixed-effects model or the random-effects model. The fixed-effects model assumes that the effect size statistics from primary studies are the estimates of one population effect size (or the set of such effect sizes, if the relationships between more than two variables are considered). In this approach, the differences between the studies are attributed entirely to sampling error. By contrast, the random-effects model assumes that population effect sizes differ between the studies and that studies involved in the meta-analysis comprise a random sample. In this perspective, differences between the studies are thought to originate both from sampling error as well as the features of primary studies (e.g., using various operationalizations of given constructs). The choice between the fixed-effects and the random-effects model depends on the amount of heterogeneity in the primary effect sizes.

9.5.1. Analytical strategy

Since solidarity-based collective action was measured in Studies 4-7, while collective action against LGBT rights only in Studies 6 and 7, we performed separate analyses for these two types of engagement. Furthermeore, becasue network embeddedness and politicized identity were assessed solely in Study 7, we did not include these variables in the analyses.[97] Thus, beyond collective action, the models presented below included three other variables: intergroup contact, modern homonegativity and old-fashioned homonegativity.

In Stage 1, we started from testing the fixed-effects model of the pooled correlation matrix. This solution imposed equality constraints on all correlation coefficients across studies. As the fit of this model was unsatisfactory (suggesting heterogeneity of effect sizes obtained in different studies), we proceeded to testing a random-effects model of the pooled correlation matrix. In contrast to its fixed-effects counterpart, this solution allowed correlation coefficients to differ between the studies. Next (Stage 2), using a random effects pooled correlation matrix as an input, we tested a saturated path model where intergroup contact was specified as the exogenous variable, modern and old-fashioned homonegativity served as the mediators and collective action was a DV. This solution provided us with the standardized estimates of path coefficients and indirect effects. Finally, to check if the given type of collective action was better predicted by modern or old-fashioned homonegativity, we tested a model assuming equal effects of these variables on the DV. If the χ^2 of this model was significant, we concluded that the effects in question were different.

[97] Our analytical strategy was led by the features of metaSEM (Cheung, 2015b) – the R package we used to perform present analyses. With the small number of primary studies, metaSEM does not handle missing correlations. To overcome this issue, we conducted separate analyses for the two types of collective action and excluded variables assessed solely in Study 7.

9.5.2. Solidarity-based collective action

Since the fixed-effects solution did not fit data well ($\chi^2(18) = 195.65$, $p < .001$), we performed a random-effects model to get a pooled correlation matrix for Studies 4-7. As shown by the significance of the *Q* statistic obtained for the latter solution ($Q(18) = 233.70$, $p < .001$)[98], primary studies were indeed heterogeneous in terms of correlation matrices. Figure 23 presents the primary and pooled estimates of correlations between intergroup contact, sexual prejudice and solidarity-based collective action.

The pooled correlation coefficients were consistent with theory-based expectations. Intergroup contact correlated negatively with modern ($r = -.30$, 95% *CI* [-.41, -.20], $p < .001$) and old-fashioned homonegativity ($r = -.36$, 95% *CI* [-.46, -.25], $p < .001$) as well as positively with solidarity-based collective action, $r = .34$, 95% *CI* [.23, .45], $p < .001$.[99] At the same time, solidarity-based collective action was related negatively both to the modern ($r = -0.66$, 95% *CI* [-.75, -.56], $p < .001$) and the old-fashioned ($r = -.38$, 95% *CI* [-.49, -.27], $p < .001$) type of sexual prejudice. The positive correlation between modern and old-fashioned homonegativity equaled $r = .61$, 95% *CI* [.54, .66], $p < .001$, which matched the most of typical effect size ($r = .60$) between "old" and "new" forms of prejudice, as indicated in qualitative research syntheses (e.g. Brown, 2010).

[98] I^2 range from .77 to .94.

[99] The pooled correlation coefficients between intergroup contact and outgroup-directed attitudes were slightly stronger than effect size ($r = -.27$) obtained by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) for gay men and lesbians as a target group. Perhaps, this pattern of results may be explained with the good quality of measurement tools employed in Studies 4-7 – as demonstrated by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), when the multi-item measures of intergroup contact and prejudice are used, the correlation between these constructs becomes stronger.

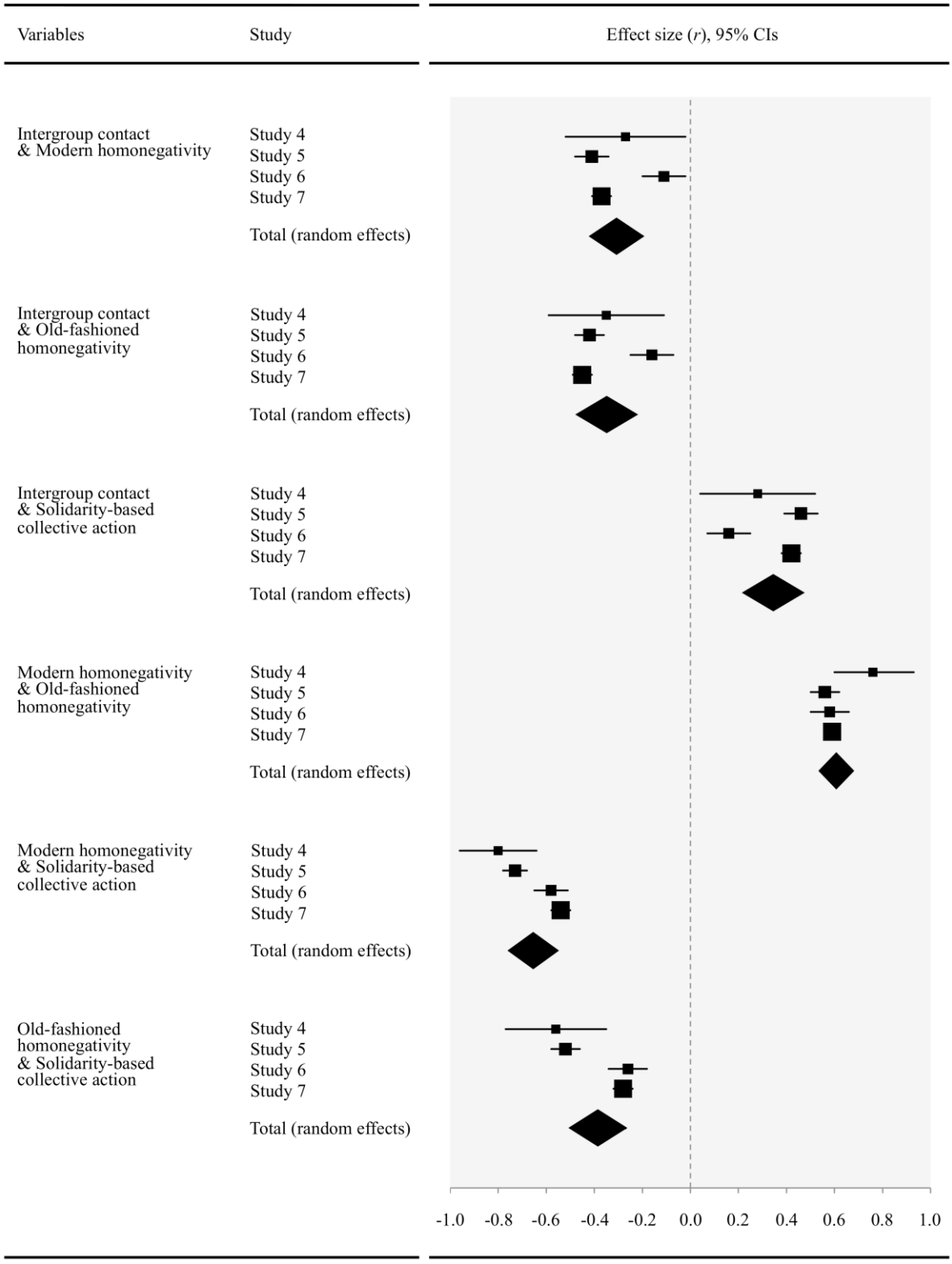

Figure 23. Forest plot of correlations between intergroup contact, modern homonegativity, old-fashioned homonegativity and solidarity-based collective action (Studies 4-7)

A path model fitted in Stage 2 (Figure 24) revealed that intergroup contact exerted negative effects on modern (β = -.30, 95% *CI* [-.41, -.20]) and old-fashioned (β = -.36, 95% *CI* [-.46, -.25]) homonegativity as well a positive direct effect on solidarity-based collective action, β = .17, 95% *CI* [.02, .32]. Modern (β = -.65, 95% *CI* [-.83, -.47]) but not old-fashioned (β = .07, 95% *CI* [-.13, .29]) homonegativity served as a negative predictor of the DV. Importantly, the two classes of sexual prejudice differed significantly in their effects ($\chi^2(1) = 14.14$, $p < .001$), providing strong support to H16. As shown by the analysis of the indirect effects, intergroup contact stimulated solidarity-based collective action by diminishing modern (*IE* = .20, 95% *CI* [.12, .29]) but not old-fashioned (*IE* = -.02, 95% *CI* [-.12, .05]) homonegativity. These results were consistent with H18 and H19.

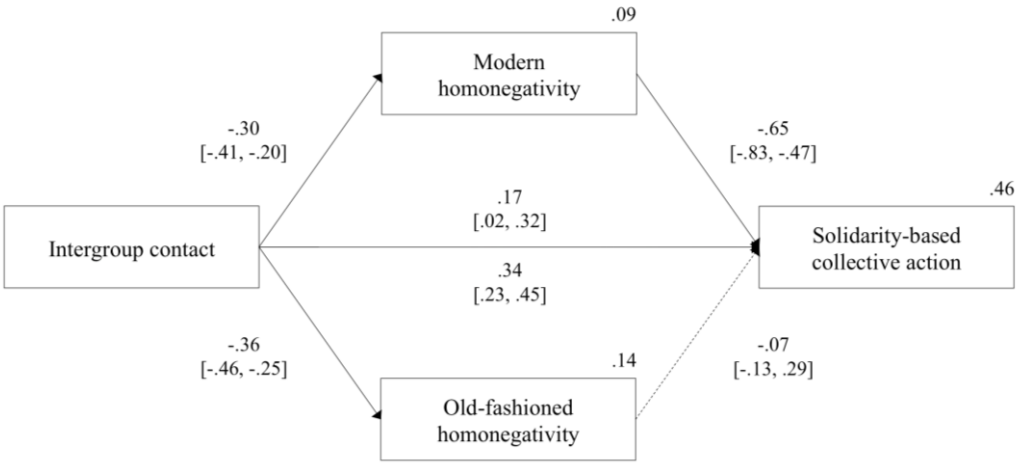

Figure 24. Micro-level antecedents of solidarity-based collective action – a meta-analytic path model

Note. Entries are standardized estimates. The estimates below and above the path from intergroup contact to solidarity-based collective action represent the total and direct effect of intergroup contact, respectively. Dashed line represents a nonsignificant coefficient. 95% *CI*s presented in the brackets.

9.5.3. Collective action against LGBT rights

Next, we synthesized data from two studies (6 and 7) measuring collective action against LGBT rights. Since the fixed-effects model did not fit data well ($\chi^2(6) = 68.70$, $p < .001$), we switched to the random-effects model in Stage 1. The correlation matrices obtained in Studies 6 and 7 proved to be heterogeneous, $Q(6) = 71.65$, $p < .001$.[100] Figure 25 displays primary and pooled correlation coefficients for intergroup contact, the two types of sexual prejudice and collective action against LGBT rights.

In line with our predictions, collective action against LGBT rights correlated negatively with intergroup contact ($r = -.06$, 95% *CI* [-.10, -.02], $p = .005$) but positively with the modern ($r = .22$, 95% *CI* [.14, .30], $p < .005$) and the old-fashioned ($r = .46$, 95% *CI* [.35, .56], $p < .001$) type of sexual prejudice. Furthermore, intergroup contact was related negatively to modern ($r = -.25$, 95% *CI* [-.42, -.08], $p = .005$) and old-fashioned ($r = -.32$, 95% *CI* [-.51, -.12], $p = .002$) homonegativity, and the two classes of sexual prejudice correlated positively, $r = .59$, 95% *CI* [.56, .61], $p < .001$.

In Stage 2 (Figure 6), intergroup contact diminished modern ($\beta = -.25$, 95% *CI* [-.42, -.08]) and old-fashioned ($\beta = -.31$, 95% *CI* [-.51, -.11]) homonegativity, but did not predict directly collective action against LGBT rights, $\beta = .09$, 95% *CI* [-.03, .26]. At the same time, collective action against LGBT rights was enhanced by old-fashioned ($\beta = .52$, 95% *CI* [.35, .73]) but not by modern ($\beta = -.06$, 95% *CI* [-.21, .08]) homonegativity. The two types of sexual prejudice differed significantly in their effects on the DV ($\chi^2(1) = 14.14$, $p < .001$), which provided firm support to H33. In terms of indirect effects, the negative effect of intergroup contact on collective action against LGBT rights was mediated by old-fashioned (*IE* = -.16, 95% *CI* [-.33, -.06]), but not modern homonegativity, *IE* = .02, 95% *CI* [-.02, .06].

[100] I^2 range from .00 to .94.

As such, results obtained based on pooled correlation matrix were in accordance with H35 and H36.

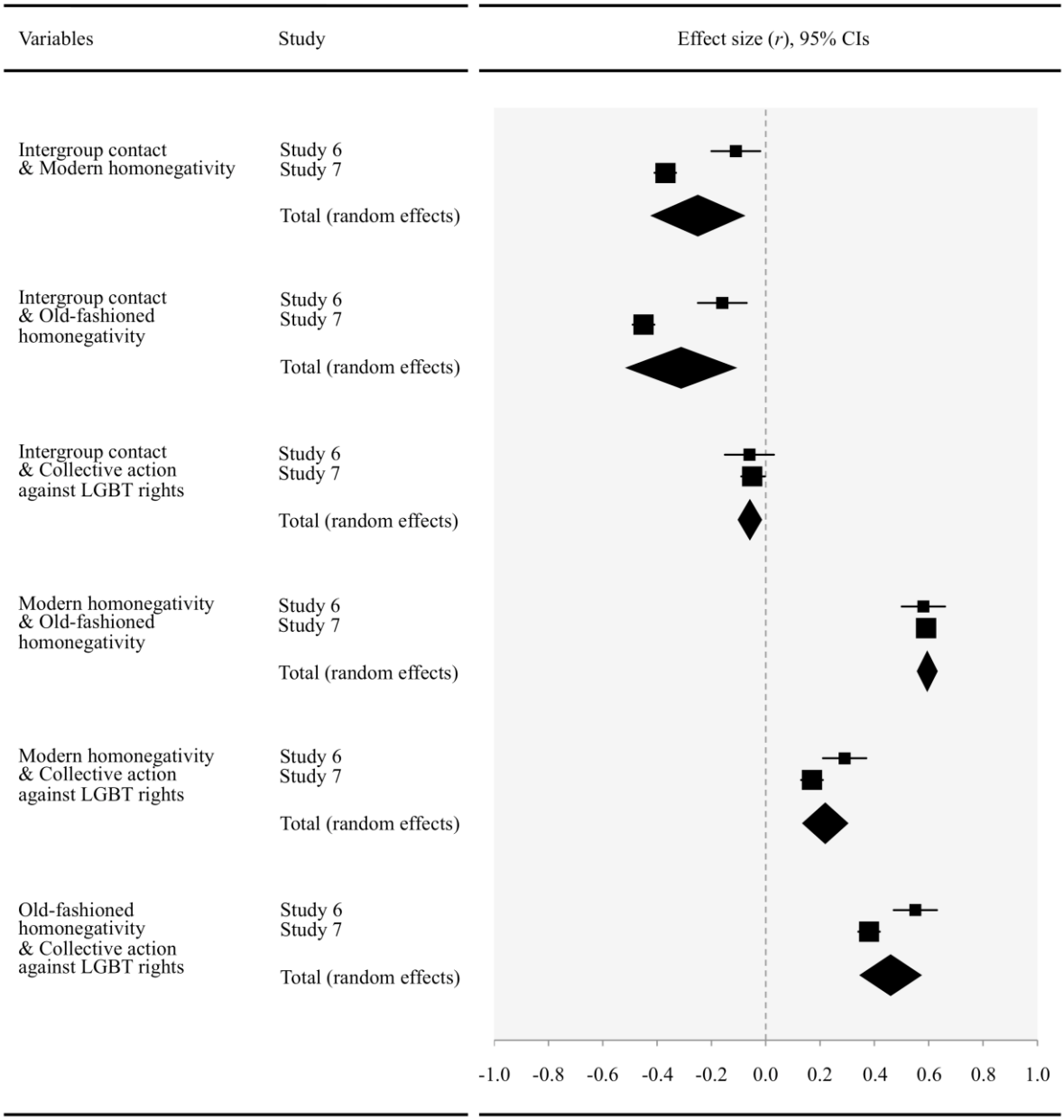

Figure 25. Forest plot of correlations between intergroup contact, modern homonegativity, old-fashioned homonegativity and collective action against LGBT rights (Studies 6 and 7)

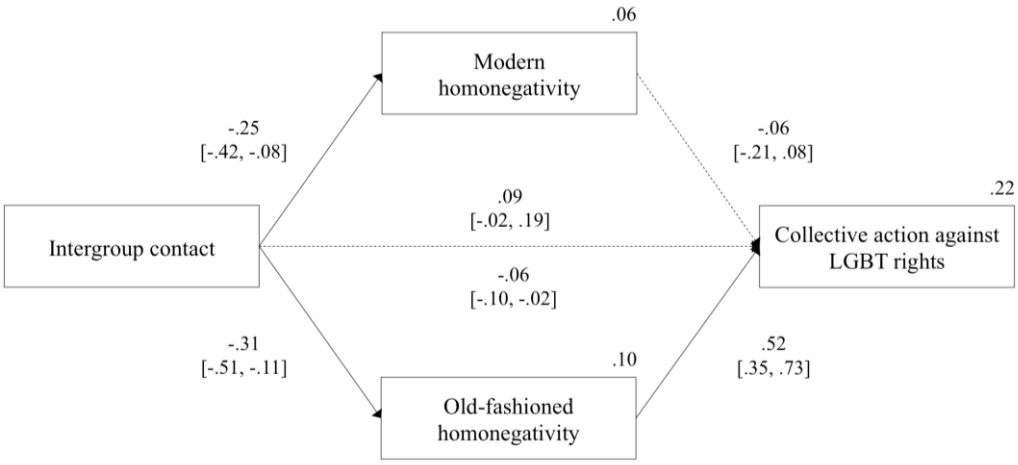

Figure 26. Micro-level antecedents of solidarity-based collective action – a meta-analytic path model

Note. Entries are standardized estimates. The estimates below and above the path from intergroup contact to collective action against rights represent the total and direct effect of intergroup contact, respectively. Dashed line represents a nonsignificant coefficient. 95% *CIs* presented in the brackets.

9.5.4. Discussion

Across Studies 4-7, we sought to identify the micro-level antecedents of heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action related to LGBT rights. While the majority of our expectations received firm and consistent support from the data, some effects exhibited variability between particular studies. To adjudicate whether these discrepancies could affect our final conclusions, we integrated the results of Studies 4-7 within two MASEM solutions where solidarity-based engagement and collective action against LGBT rights served as DVs, respectively.

Combining data from Studies 4 – 7 provided support for our expectations. In line with theorizing presented in Chapter 4, the modern type of sexual prejudice exerted a negative

effect on collective action in solidarity with LGBT people. Furthermore, this was modern, not old-fashioned homonegativity, that mediated the positive effect of intergroup contact on solidarity-based engagement. Importantly, when other predictors were accounted for, old-fashioned homonegativity was unrelated to collective action in support of LGBT rights, implying that a positive effect of this variable registered in Study 6 (Table 20, Model 2) occurred by chance. It is also important to underscore that even when the mediators were added into the model, the direct effect of intergroup contact on the DV remained positive and significant. This result suggests that knowing LGBT people inspires collective action in support of this group not only by reducing sexual prejudice. As indicated by Study 7, the increase of pro-LGBT politicized identity may serve as another intervening mechanism.

At the same time, collective action intended to limit LGBT rights was promoted by old-fashioned but not modern homonegitivity, which confirmed our excpectations presented in Chapter 5. Moreover, in line with our predictions, intergroup contact diminished anti-LGBT engagement by lowering the old-fashioned type of sexual prejudice. In contrast, the indirect effect via modern homonegativity did not reach significance.

Interestingly, present analyses showed that intergroup contact and sexual prejudice served as the better predictors of solidarity-based engagement than collective action against LGBT rights. While intergroup contact and the two types of homonegativity accounted for 46% of variability in collective action in support of LGBT rights, only 22% of variability in anti-LGBT engagement was explained by these variables. This discrepancy may be attributed to the differential explanatory power of intergroup contact. Specifically, while knowing LGBT people exerted a medium positive effect on solidarity-based engagement (r = .34), its negative effect on collective action against LGBT rights was small (r = -.06). As such, having

LGBT friends and acquaintances – the positive type of intergroup contact[101] – did not serve as a powerful inhibitor of anti-LGBT protest behaviour. Perhaps, assessing explicitly negative contact with minority members (e.g. Paolini et al., 2010) would have allowed us to better explain this type of activism.

[101] The pooled effect r = -.06 is based on Studies 6 and 7, where intergroup contact was operationalized in a conventional, positive way.

CHAPTER 10

STUDY 8

While Studies 4-7 identified the micro-level antecedents of heterosexuals' collective action related to LGBT rights, the primary aim of Study 8 was to indicate meso-level factors that explain such engagement. Based on the theoretical rationale presented in Chapters 4 and 5, we formulated a number of hypotheses linking the presence of pro-LGBT SMOs (a county-level property) to the engagement of heterosexual majority members. Most importantly, we expected that pro-LGBT SMOs would promote solidarity-based collective action (H25). Two mechanisms explaining this relationship seemed possible. First, pro-LGBT SMOs could fuel engagement in support of LGBT rights by enhancing intergroup contact (H26). Second, the positive effect of pro-LGBT SMOs could be accounted for by the reduction of modern homonegativity (H27). As far as engagement against LGBT rights was concerned, we expected a negative effect of pro-LGBT SMOs on this type of activism (H42). Again, two meachanisms could underlie this relationship. First, pro-LGBT SMOs could inhibit collective action against LGBT rights by stimulating intergroup contact (H43). Second, the negative effect of pro-LGBT on collective action against LGBT rights could be accounted for by the decrease in old-fashioned homonegativity (H43).

The secondary objective of Study 8 was to replicate individual-level findings of Studies 4-7. Specifically, we expected that in comparison to old-fashioned sexual prejudice, modern homonegativity would more strongly decrease solidarity-based collective action (H15 and H16). On the other hand, old-fashioned homonegativity was hypothesized to exert stronger positive effect on collective action against LGBT rights (H32) than its modern counterpart (H33). We also assumed that intergroup contact would promote solidarity-based collective action (H17) and limit collective action against LGBT rights (H34). While the

positive effect of intergroup contact on solidarity-based collective action was expected to be mediated to a greater extent by the decrease of modern than old-fashioned homonegativity (H19), we hypothesized that the inhibitory effect of intergroup contact on collective action against LGBT rights would be better explained by the decrease of the old-fashioned than the modern type of sexual prejudice (H36).

10.1. Method

To verify our predictions, we employed data collected in the third wave of the Polish Prejudice Survey – a nationwide study of attitudes conducted every four years by the Centre for Research on Prejudice at the University of Warsaw (see Bilewicz, Winiewski, Kofta, & Wójcik, 2013; Stefaniak & Winiewski, 2018). The third wave of the Polish Prejudice Survey was performed in June 2017 with the use of computer-assisted personal interviews on a random sample of Poles.[102]

10.1.1. Participants

Participants were 1,019 individuals (51.9% female, 48.1% male, age range 18 – 74, *M* = 46.72, *SD* = 17.04) from 98 counties (Figure 27). The sample was dominated by vocational

[102] Taking into account the hostile climate toward homosexuals in Poland (Antosz, 2012), and the fact that asking respondents to indicate their sexual orientation might have been threatening in the context of face-to-face interviews, we did not measure participant's sexual orientation. Thus, the analyzed data included responses provided by heterosexual participants and of non-heterosexual individuals. Assuming that non-heterosexual people comprise a small share of the general population (3.5% according to Gates, 2011), we interpreted the collected data as if it was obtained from heterosexual individuals only. The limitations of this approach are discussed in section 10.3.

school graduates (28.9%) and rural areas residents (38%). Sample distribution of gender ($\chi^2(1) = 0.31$, $p = .859$, $V = .004$, $p = .859$), age ($\chi^2(5) = 2.21$, $p = .819$, $V = .713$, $p = .819$), and settlement size ($\chi^2(1) = 0.134$, $p = .714$, $V = .01$, $p = .714$) did not differ from general population (Figures 28, 29, and 30, respectively).

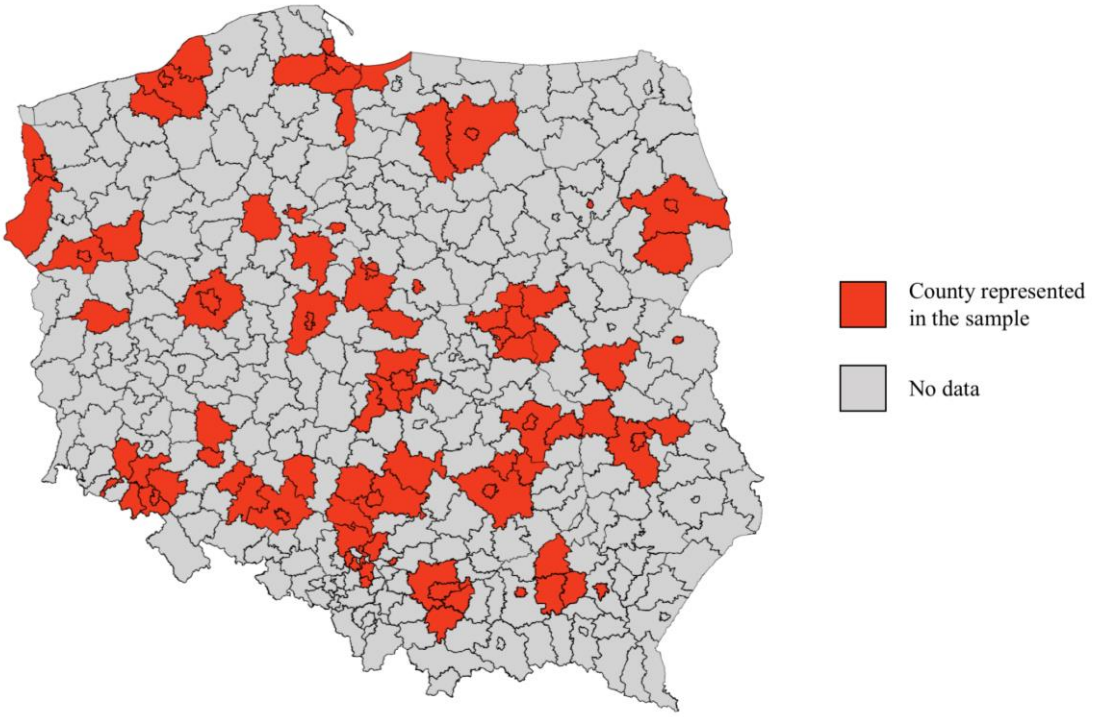

Figure 27. Counties represented in the sample (Study 8).

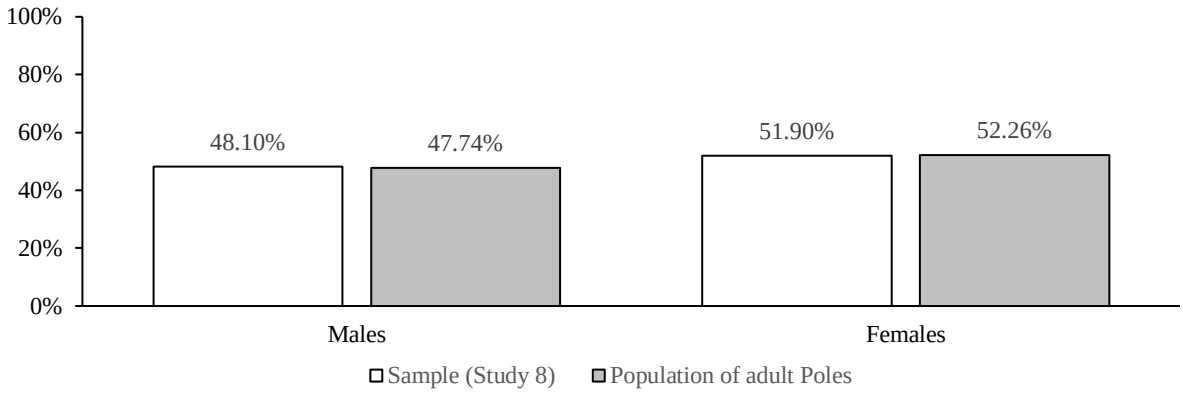

Figure 28. Distribution of gender in the sample (Study 8) and the population of adult Poles.

Note. Data for the population of Poles as of June 30, 2016 (GUS, 2016).

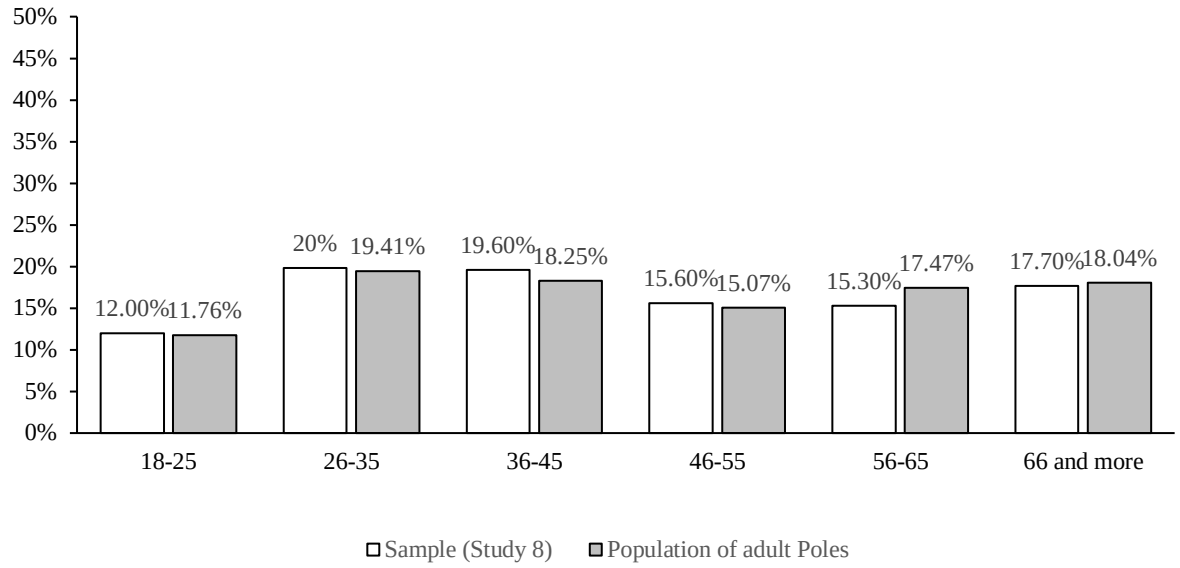

Figure 29. Distribution of age in the sample (Study 8) and the population of adult Poles.

Note. Data for the population of Poles as of June 30, 2016 (GUS, 2016).

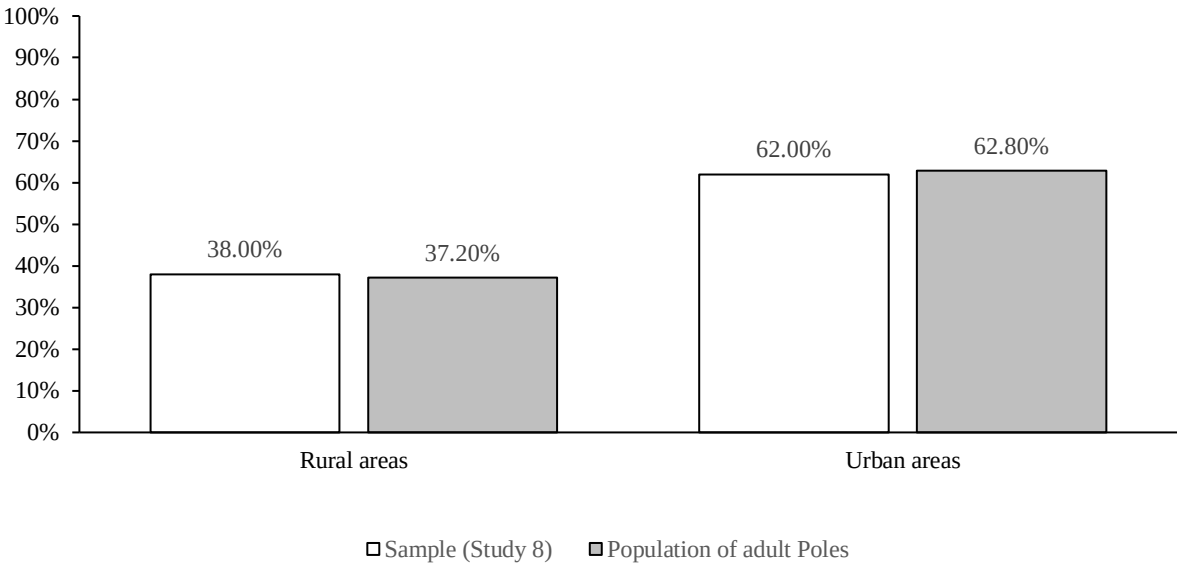

Figure 30. Distribution of settlement size in the sample (Study 8) and the population of adult Poles.

Note. Data for the population of Poles as of June 30, 2016 (GUS, 2016).

10.1.2. Measures

10.1.2.1. Individual-level variables

Independent variable. Intergroup contact was assessed with two items (r = .58, p < .001): "Do you know any homosexual persons (gay men or lesbians)?" (1 = *No, I don't,* 2 = *Yes, 1-2*, 3 = *Yes, a few*. 4 = *Yes, a lot*, 5 = *Yes, many*), and "Do you have a homosexual friend?" (1 = *No, I don't,* 2 = *Yes, 1-2*, 3 = *Yes, a few*. 4 = *Yes, a lot*, 5 = *Yes, many*).

Mediators. To tap on old-fashioned homonegativity, we employed three items (α = .87) from the Homonegativity Scale (Morrison et al., 1999): "Homosexuals should be avoided whenever possible", "Homosexuals should not be allowed to work with children" and "Homosexuals are immoral" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). On the other hand, modern homonegativity was assessed with three items (α = .51) borrowed from the Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2003): "Homosexuals who are "out of the closet" should be admired for their courage" (reverse-scored), "Homosexuals still need to protest for equal rights" (reverse-scored) and "Homosexuals have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights" (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*).[103]

Dependent variables. Solidarity-based collective action was assessed with a single item: "I would like to engage in collective action aimed to increase the rights of homosexual people" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Likewise, one item was used to measure collective action against LGBT individuals: "I would like to engage in collective action aimed to limit the rights of homosexual people" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

[103] As shown by the principal axis factoring EFA, the six items measuring old-fashioned and modern homonegativity created two factors that accounted for 41.67% and 15.64% of variability, respectively.

Covariates. To ascertain if the key predictors affected the DVs independently from participants' sociodemographic properties, our analyses were adjusted for gender, age, education, subjective economic situation, settlement size and conservative voting. Gender was coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. We computed participants' age based on the declared year of birth. Education was operationalized as the years of full-time education. To measure respondents' subjective economic situation, we asked them to report their households' economic conditions on a 5-point scale (1 = *bad*, 2 = *rather bad*, 3 = *neither bad, nor good*, 4 = *rather good*, 5 = *good*). Settlement size was recorded on a 9-point scale (1 = *rural area*, 2 = *town less than 10,000 residents*, 3 = *town 10,000 – 19,999 residents*, 4 = *town 20,000 – 49,999 residents*, 5 = *town 50,000 – 99,999 residents*, 6 = *town 100,000 – 199,999 residents*, 7 = *town 200,000 – 499,999 residents*, 8 = *city 500,000 – 1,000,000 residents*, 9 = *city with more than 1,000,000 residents*). Following Study 2, conservative voting (0 = *no*, 1 = *yes*) was operationalized based on participants' voting decisions in 2015 parliamentary election. The responses of participants who supported PiS, Kukiz'15 and KORWiN were coded as conservative. Voting for other committies was coded as non-conservative. The responses of participants who declared not to participate in the elections (n = 259) or refused to reveal their voting decision (n = 141) were coded as missing data.

The rate of missing data for individual-level variables ranged from 0 for gender, education, age and settlement size to 39.3% for conservative voting (M = 6.64%).

10.1.2.2. County-level variables

Independent variable. The presence of LGBT SMOs in a given county (0 = *no*, 1 = *yes*) was coded based on the Internet search and consultations with Polish LGBT activists (see Paceley et al., 2014).

Covariates. To check SMOs against other county-level explanations of collective action, we controlled for counties' ideological climate, economy and status. All these variables were operationalized in exactly the same way as in Study 2. Specifically, conservative ideological climate was defined as the proportion of valid votes for PiS, Kukiz'15 and KORWiN in 2015 parliamentary elections (PKW, 2015). Counties' economy was approximated by 2016 registered unemployment rate (0 = *no unemployment*, 100 = *full unemployment*; BDL, 2017). Counties' status was coded 0 for land counties and 1 for city counties. There was no missing data when county-level variables were concerned.

10.2. Results

10.2.1. Preliminary analyses

Table 25 presents the means, standard deviations and intercorrelations for the variables assessed in Study 8. In principle, results replicated the relationships registered in Studies 4-7. Solidarity-based collective action correlated positively with intergroup contact (r = .27, p < .001) and negatively with modern (r = -.43, p < .001) as well as old-fashioned (r = -.19, p < .001) homonegativity. On the other hand, collective action against LGBT rights correlated positively with modern (r = .10, p = .010) and old-fashioned (r = .32, p < .001) sexual prejudice, but was unrelated to intergroup contact, r = -.03, p = .369. Intergroup contact correlated negatively with modern (r = -.21, p < .001) and old-fashioned (r = -.22, p < .001) homonegativity. The correlation between the two types of sexual prejudice (r = .44, p < .001) and the two classes of collective action (r = .41, p < .001) were positive. Unexpectedly, gender did not differentiate collective action, sexual prejudice or intergroup contact (all ps > .052).

Table 25

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the variables involved in the follow-up to Study 8.

Individual-level variables	*M*	*SD*	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Solidarity-based collective action	2.90	1.84	.41***	-.43***	-.19***	.27***	-.04	-.12***	.19***	.01	.08*	-.19***
2. Collective action against LGBT rights	2.99	1.92		.10**	.32***	-.03	.01	-.01	.10**	-.01	.07*	.06
3. Modern homonegativity	4.20	1.37			.44***	-.21***	.06	.22***	-.14***	-.08*	-.06	.22***
4.Old-fashioned homonegativity	3.59	1.81				-.22***	.05	.18***	-.11***	-.11***	.02	.20***
5. Intergroup contact	1.26	0.57					-.04	-.18***	.20***	.04	.11***	-.14***
6. Gender	0.02	0.50						-.06	-.01	.03	.03	.03
7. Age	46.72	17.04							-.23***	-.23***	.04	.07
8. Education	12.45	3.43								.26***	.18***	-.15***
9. Subjective economic situation	3.64	0.93									.10**	-.10*
10. Settlement size	3.68	2.69										-.11**
11.Conservative voting	0.55	0.50										
County-level variables	*M*	*SD*	13.	14.	15.							
12. SMOs	0.15	0.36	-.27**	.57***	-.40***							
13. Conservative ideological climate	0.50	0.10		-.32**	.19							
14. City county	0.36	0.48			-.43***							
15. Unemployment (%)	9.51	4.86										

Note. For the association between SMOs and city county, the value of ϕ coefficient was reported. The remaining entries are Pearson's *r* coefficients or point-biserial correlations.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

10.2.2. Main analyses

10.2.2.1. Analytical strategy

To check if multilevel modeling framework was sutiable for the present data, we examined if county-level variables could explain variability in intergroup contact, sexual prejudice and collective action. As shown by significant ICCs, counties differed in terms of intergroup contact (*ICC* = .08, *SE* = .03, 95% *CI* [.02, .15], *p* = .013), modern homonegativity (*ICC* = .13, *SE* = .03, 95% *CI* [.07, .19], *p* < .001), old-fashioned homonegativity (*ICC* = .18, *SE* = .04, 95% *CI* [.10, .26], *p* < .001), solidarity-based collective action (*ICC* = .29, *SE* = .05, 95% *CI* [.19, .38], *p* < .001) and collective action against LGBT rights, *ICC* = .21, *SE* = .05, 95% *CI* [.13, .30], *p* < .001. These results justified the use of multilevel modelling framework.[104]

Next, following Studies 6 and 7, we ran separate analyses for solidarity-based collective action and collective action against LGBT rights as the DVs. The logic of analyses was similar to that employed in Study 2. In Model 1 (Tables 26 and 27), collective action was regressed on pro-LGBT SMOs, which allowed us to test H25 and H42. In Model 2 (Tables 26 and 27), intergroup contact was added at both levels of analysis to verify H17, H26, H34, and H43. At the county level, contact served as the mediator between pro-LGBT SMOs and

[104] Similarly to Study 2, the present data could be considered to have a three-level structure (individuals embedded in counties and counties embedded in voivodships). However, the voivedship level did not account for the substantive amount of variability in intergroup contact (*ICC* = .001, *SE* = .14, 95% *CI* [-.27, .27], *p* = .993), modern homonegativity (*ICC* = .02, *SE* = .02, 95% *CI* [-.02, .05], *p* = .315), old-fashioned homonegativity (*ICC* = .02, *SE* = .02, 95% *CI* [-.01, .05], *p* = .181), solidarity-based collective action (*ICC* = .07, *SE* =.05, 95% *CI* [-.03, .17], *p* = .187) or collective action against LGBT rights, *ICC* = .07, *SE* = .04, 95% *CI* [-.02, .15], *p* = .129.

collective action. At the individual level, contact was specified as the only predictor of collective action. Importantly, Model 2 allowed us to examine the contextual effect of contact with homosexuals registered in past research (MacInnis et al., 2017). The aim of Model 3 (Tables 26 and 27, Figures 31 and 32) was to test H15, H16, H18, H19, H27, H32, H33, H35, 36 and H44. In this solution, modern and old-fashioned homonegativity were introduced as the proximal predictors of collective action at the individual and the county level of analysis. At the county level of analysis, both types of prejudice were regressed on intergroup contact (paths eb and fb on Figures 31 and 32) and pro-LGBT SMOs (paths b and c on Figures 31 and 32). At the individual level, in turn, modern and old-fashioned homonegativity were regressed solely on intergroup contact (paths ew and fw). Model 4 (Table 26 and 27) was intended to check the stability of the effects obtained in previous models. To this end, a number of covariates were added to the model. At the county level, we controlled for conservative climate, county's city status and unemployment. At the individual level, we adjusted for gender, age, education, subjective economic situation, settlement size and conservative voting. All models accounted for the lack of multivariate normality by using the MLR estimator.[105] Across all models, continuous predictors were centered to the grand mean. Parametric bootstrapping (Efron & Tibshirani, 1986) with 5,000 repetitions was employed to estimate confidence intervals for the indirect effects.

[105] As shown by Mardia's multivariate skewness (χ^2 = 38396.71, p < .001) and kurtosis (Z = 333.94, p < .001) tests, multivariate normality condition was violated in Study 1.

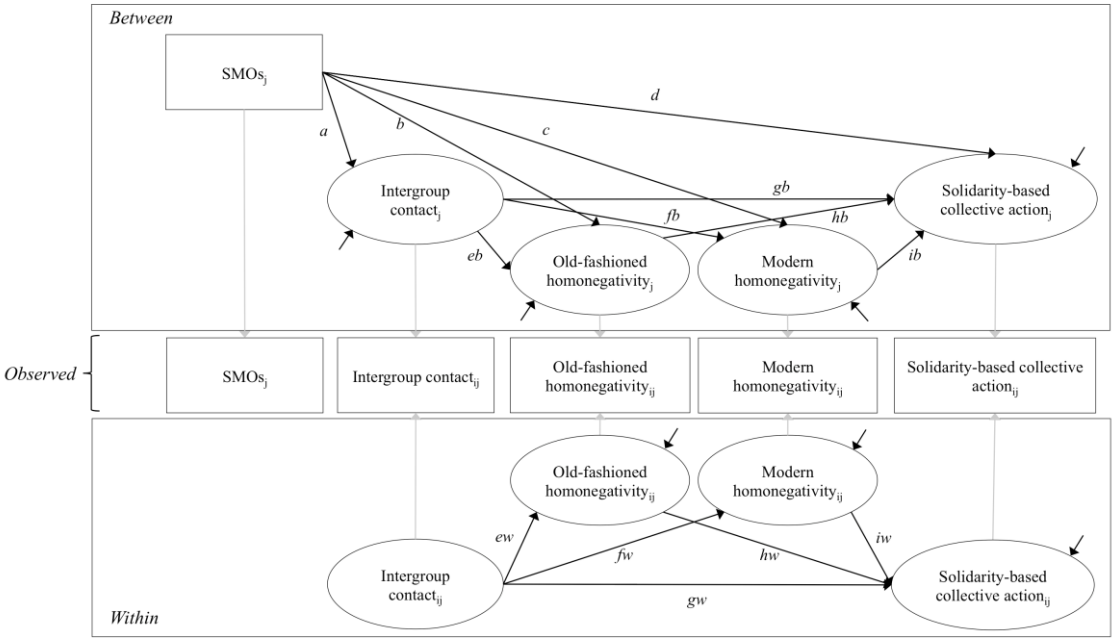

Figure 31. The MSEM model of collective action in support of LGBT rights tested in Study 8 (Model 3, Table 25).

Note. Adapted from Preacher, Zyphur and Zhang (2010).

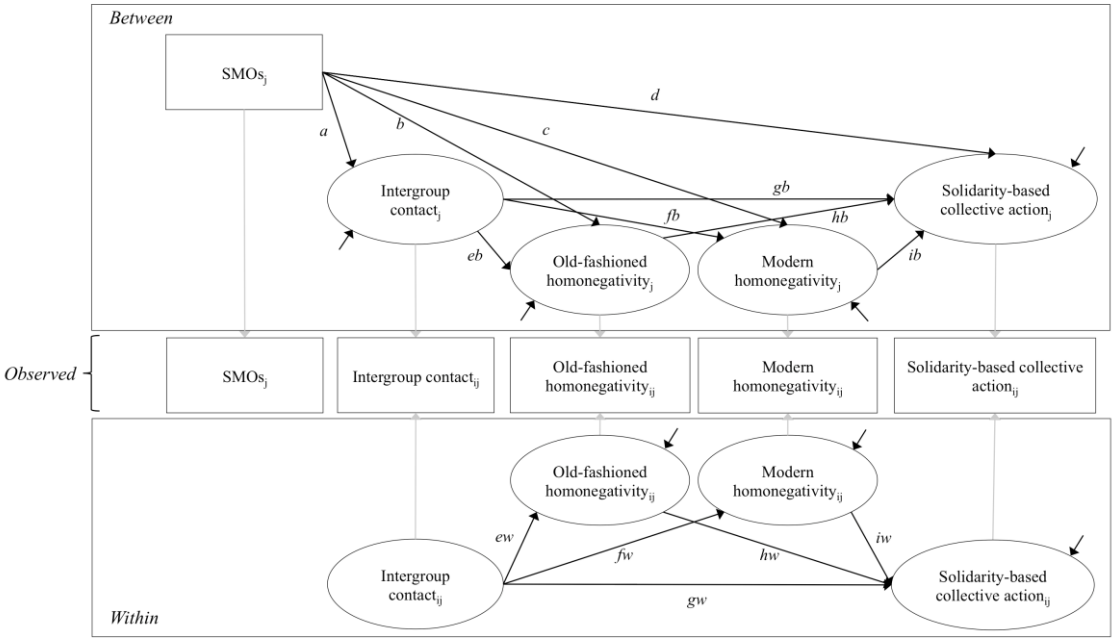

Figure 32. The MSEM model of collective action against LGBT rights tested in Study 8 (Model 3, Table 26).

Note. Adapted from Preacher, Zyphur and Zhang (2010).

10.2.2.2. Hypotheses testing

Collective action in support of LGBT rights. First, we performed analyses with collective action in support of LGBT rights as the DV. As shown in Model 1 (Table 26), this type of engagement was unrelated to pro-LGBT SMOs (*B* = -0.18, *SE* = 0.30, 95% *CI* [-0.78, 0.41], *p* = .548), prompting us to reject H25.

In line with H17, Model 2 (Table 26) revealed a positive within-level effect of intergroup contact (*B* = 0.86, *SE* = 0.10, 95% *CI* [0.66, 1.07], *p* < .001): when interdependence between the respondents was accounted for, individuals who knew more gay men and lesbians declared stronger collective action in support of homosexuals' rights. On the other hand, between-level effect of contact was nonsignificant, *B* = 0.35, *SE* = 1.21, 95% *CI* [-2.02, 2.71], *p* = .774, which contradicted recent findings on the contextual effects of intergroup contact (e.g., MacInnis et al., 2017). Consequently, the indirect effect of SMOs on collective action through intergroup contact did not reach significance either, *IE* = 0.06, *SE* = 0.20, 95% *CI* [-0.32, 0.59], *p* = .782. Thus, H26, which posited intergroup contact as a mediating mechanism through which SMOs shape engagement, did not receive support from the present data. At the same time, SMOs exerted a positive between-level effect on contact with homosexuals, *B* = 0.16, *SE* = 0.07, 95% *CI* [0.02, 0.30], *p* = .031. As such, in counties where LGBT rights movement had been institutionalized, knowing a gay man or a lesbian was more common.

In Model 3 (Table 26), modern and old-fashioned homonegativity were added as the proximal between- and within-level predictors of the DV. In contrast to old-fashioned homonegativity (*B* = -0.001, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [-0.07, 0.07], *p* = .979), the modern type of sexual prejudice exerted a negative within-level effect on collective action in support of homosexuals' rights (*B* = -0.49, *SE* = 0.07, 95% *CI* [-0.62, -0.36], *p* < .001), attesting to H15. Moreover, modern homonegativity served as a stronger within-level predictor of the DV than

its old-fashioned counterpart ($\chi^2(1) = 27.49$, $p < .001$), which supported H16. Contact with gay men and lesbians exerted negative within-level effects on both modern (*B* = -0.56, *SE* = 0.08, 95% *CI* [-0.70, -0.42], $p < .001$) and old-fashioned homonegativity, *B* = -0.73, *SE* = 0.10, 95% *CI* [-0.98, -0.54], $p < .001$. Moreover, within-level contact with homosexuals promoted collective action in support of this group by decreasing modern homonegativity (*IE* = 0.29, *SE* = 0.05, 95% *CI* [0.19, 0.40], *Z* = 5.42, $p < .001$), corroborating H18. In comparison to the old-fashioned type of sexual prejudice, modern homonegativity served as a better mediator of contact positive effect on the DV ($\chi^2(1) = 16.57$, $p < .001$), which was in line with H19.

At the between level, collective action in support of homosexuals' rights was predicted negatively by modern homonegativity (*B* = -0.98, *SE* = 0.40, 95% *CI* [-1.75, -0.20], $p = .014$), suggesting a contextual effect of this variable. As such, regardless of individual prejudice, respondents living in communities where modern homonegativity was higher expressed lower intentions to engage in collective action on behalf of gay men and lesbians. At the same time, the DV was unrelated to old-fashioned homonegativity (*B* = 0.30, *SE* = 0.230, 95% *CI* [-0.15, 0.75], $p = .194$), contact (*B* = 0.98, *SE* = 1.28, 95% *CI* [-1.52, 3.49], $p = .442$), and SMOs, *B* = -0.49, *SE* = 0.37, 95% *CI* [-1.21, 0.23], $p = .186$. Neither SMOs (*B* = -0.26, *SE* = 0.25, 95% *CI* [-0.75, 0.24], $p = .313$), nor contact (*B* = 0.52, *SE* = 0.86, 95% *CI* [-1.52, 3.49], $p = .546$) exerted between-level effects on modern homonegativity. Consequently, the indirect effect of SMOs on collective action through modern homonegativity did not reach significance, *IE* = 0.25, *SE* = 0.28, 95% *CI* [-0.20, 0.97], $p = .381$. As such, H27, which assumed that pro-LGBT SMOs increase collective action in support of sexual minorities through lowering modern homonegativity, did not receive support from the data. In a similar vein, between-level old-fashioned homonegativity did not depend either on pro-LGBT SMOs (*B* = -0.08, *SE* = 0.42, 95% *CI* [-0.89, 0.74], $p = .858$) or contact with homosexuals (*B* = 0.03,

SE = 1.33, 95% *CI* [-2.58, 2.63], *p* = .984). By contrast, the positive effect of SMOs on contact with gay men and lesbians remained significant, *B* = 0.16, *SE* = 0.07, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.30], *p* = .034.

Introducing covariates into the model (Model 4, Table 26) changed the results to a limited extent. At the within level of analysis, collective action in support of homosexuals' rights was predicted positively by contact (*B* = 0.52, *SE* = 0.11, 95% *CI* [0.32, 0.73], *p* < .001) and education (*B* = 0.04, *SE* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.07], *p* = .002), and negatively by modern homonegativity (*B* = -0.47, *SE* = 0.07, 95% *CI* [-0.60, -0.34], *p* < .001) and subjective economic situation (*B* = -0.12, *SE* = 0.06, 95% *CI* [-0.23, -0.01], *p* = .029). The indirect effect of contact on collective action through modern homonegativity remained positive and significant, *IE* = 0.19, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [0.11, 0.29], *Z* = 4.31, *p* < .001. At the between level of analysis, the negative effect of modern homonegativity lost significance, *B* = -0.77, *SE* = 0.40, 95% *CI* [-1.55, 0.01], *p* = .053. At the same time, the DV was predicted negatively by conservative climate (*B* = -3.61, *SE* = 1.47, 95% *CI* [-6.48, -0.73], *p* = .014). Thus, regardless of their own voting decisions, respondents living in communities where conservative parties received higher support in the past elections declared lower willingness to join collective action on behalf of sexual minorities. The indirect effects of SMOs through contact (*IE* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.26, 95% *CI* [-0.46, 0.66], *Z* = -0.04, *p* = .967) and modern homonegativity (*IE* = 0.21, *SE* = 0.29, 95% *CI* [-0.30, 1.00], *Z* = 0.72, *p* = .474) remained nonsignificant.

Table 26

County and individual-level predictors of solidarity-based collective action (Study 8)

	Model 1	Model 2	
Predicted variables	Solidarity-based collective action	Intergroup contact	Solidarity-based collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	2.98 (0.13)***	-0.04 (0.02)	2.99 (0.13)***
Individual level (IL) effects			
Old-fashioned homonegativity			
Modern homonegativity			
Intergroup contact			0.86 (0.10)***
Conservative voting			
Gender			
Age			
Education			
Subjective economic situation			
Settlement size			
County level (CL) effects			
Old-fashioned homonegativity			
Modern homonegativity			
Intergroup contact			0.35 (1.21)
SMOs	-0.18 (0.30)	0.16 (0.07)*	-0.22 (0.31)
Conservative ideological climate			
City county			
Unemployment			
IL variation of the predicted variable	2.44 (0.17)***	0.30 (0.05)***	2.21 (0.16)***
CL variation of the predicted variable	0.98 (0.20)***	0.02 (0.01)	0.97 (0.19)***
-2 log-likehood	3529.69	5138.44	

Note. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Continuous explanatory variables were centered to their grand means. Gender was coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 26 (continued)

County- and individual-level predictors of solidarity-based collective action (Study 8)

Predicted variables	Model 3			
	Intergroup contact	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Solidarity-based collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	-0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.12)	0.02 (0.09)	3.01 (0.13)***
Individual level (IL) effects				
Old-fashioned homonegativity				-0.001 (0.04)
Modern homonegativity				-0.49 (0.07)***
Intergroup contact		-0.73 (0.10)***	-0.56 (0.08)***	0.57 (0.11)***
Conservative voting				
Gender				
Age				
Education				
Subjective economic situation				
Settlement size				
County level (CL) effects				
Old-fashioned homonegativity				0.30 (0.23)
Modern homonegativity				-0.98 (0.40)*
Intergroup contact		0.03 (1.33)	0.52 (0.86)	0.98 (1.28)
SMOs	0.16 (0.07)*	-0.08 (0.42)	-0.26 (0.25)	-0.49 (0.37)
Conservative ideological climate				
City county				
Unemployment				
IL variation of the predicted variable	0.30 (0.05)***	2.60 (0.15)***	1.55 (0.12)***	1.84 (0.14)***
CL variation of the predicted variable	0.02 (0.01)	0.62 (0.15)***	0.24 (0.07)**	0.78 (0.15)***
-2 log-likehood		11867.36		

Note. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Continuous explanatory variables were centered to their grand means. Gender was coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 26 (continued)

County- level and individual-level predictors of solidarity-based collective action (Study 8)

Predicted variables	Model 4			
	Intergroup contact	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Solidarity-based collective action
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	0.01 (0.05)	-0.11 (0.20)	-0.28 (0.15)	3.23 (0.20)***
Individual level (IL) effects				
Old-fashioned homonegativity				-0.002 (0.04)
Modern homonegativity				-0.47 (0.07)***
Intergroup contact		-0.55 (0.08)***	-0.41 (0.07)***	0.52 (0.11)***
Conservative voting		0.55 (0.15)***	0.45 (0.09)***	-0.15 (0.14)
Gender		-0.21 (0.13)	-0.18 (0.08)*	0.03 (0.08)
Age		-0.02 (0.02)	0.13 (0.03)***	-0.01 (0.03)
Education		-0.14 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.04 (0.02)*
Subjective economic situation		-0.14 (0.07)	0.01 (0.06)	-0.12 (0.06)*
Settlement size		0.13 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)
County level (CL) effects				
Old-fashioned homonegativity				0.34 (0.23)
Modern homonegativity				-0.77 (0.40)
Intergroup contact		-0.01 (1.25)	0.83 (0.72)	-0.05 (1.19)
SMOs	0.22 (0.08)**	-0.10 (0.54)	-0.27 (0.33)	-0.51 (0.48)
Conservative ideological climate	-0.59 (0.25)*	1.73 (1.00)	1.46 (0.85)	-3.61 (1.47)*
City county	-0.16 (0.11)	-0.49 (0.48)	0.17 (0.36)	-0.30 (0.47)
Unemployment	0.002 (0.004)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
IL variation of the predicted variable	0.29 (0.05)***	2.42 (0.12)***	1.44 (0.11)***	1.81 (0.13)***
CL variation of the predicted variable	0.02 (0.01)	0.59 (0.16)***	0.21 (0.07)**	0.69 (0.13)***
-2 log-likehood		31585.78		

Note. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Continuous explanatory variables were centered to their grand means. Gender was coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Collective action against LGBT rights. In the next part of analysis, collective action against homosexuals' rights was specified as the DV. Contrary to H42, Model 1 (Table 27) showed that collective action against sexual minorities was not predicted by pro-LGBT SMOs, B = -0.17, SE = 0.27, 95% CI [-0.69, 0.36], p = .530.

The results for Model 2 (Table 27) did not provide support for H34: contrary to our expectations, the within-level effect of intergroup contact on collective action against homosexuals' rights was nonsignificant, (B = -0.16, SE = 0.14, 95% CI [-0.42, 0.11], p = .248). The between-level effect of contact did not reach significance either, B = 0.98, SE = 1.25, 95% CI [-1.48, 3.44], p = .435. Consequently, the indirect effect of SMOs on the DV by contact with gay men and lesbians was nonsignificant (IE = 0.15, SE = 0.22, 95% CI [-1.53, 0.72], Z = 0.69, p = .491), which prompted us to reject H43. At the same time, there was a positive between-level effect of SMOs on contact with homosexuals, B = 0.16, SE = 0.07, 95% CI [0.01, 0.30], p = .033.

Model 3 (Table 27) revealed a positive within-level effect of old-fashioned homonegativity on the DV (B = 0.29, SE = 0.06, 95% CI [0.17, 0.41], p < .001), which corroborated H32. By contrast, collective action against homosexuals' rights was unrelated to modern homonegativity (B = -0.03, SE = 0.08, 95% CI [-0.18, 0.12], p = .675). The within-level effects of the two types of sexual prejudice differed significantly ($\chi^2(1) = 8.54$, p = .004), supporting H33. In accordance with H34, within-level contact decreased collective action against sexual minorities by limiting old-fashioned (IE = -0.21, SE = 0.05, 95% CI [-0.32, -0.11], Z = -4.16, p < .001) but not modern homonegativity, IE = 0.02, SE = 0.04, 95% CI [-0.06, 0.10], Z = 0.42, p = .676). Importantly, the indirect effects of contact through two types of sexual prejudice differed significantly ($\chi^2(1) = 10.17$, p = .001), which corroborated H34. At the between level of analysis, collective action against homosexuals' rights was predicted positively by old-fashioned homonegativity (B = 0.75, SE = 0.23, 95% CI [0.29,

1.20], p = .001), suggesting a contextual effect of this variable. As such, irrespective of their individual attitudes, respondents living in counties where old-fashioned homonegativity was stronger, exhibited higher readiness to engage in protest behaviour against the rights of sexual minorities. At the same time, the DV was not related to modern homonegativity (B = -0.40, SE = 0.34, 95% CI [-1.07, 0.27], p = .238), contact with homosexuals (B = 1.15, SE = 1.15, 95% CI [-1.11, 3.41], p = .317) or SMOs (B = -0.35, SE = 0.30, 95% CI [-0.94, 0.23], p = .235). Neither old-fashioned (B = -0.10, SE = 0.41, 95% CI [-0.91, 71], p = .811), nor modern (B = -0.24, SE = 0.25, 95% CI [-0.73, 0.24], p = .327) homonegativity was predicted by SMOs. Consequently, the indirect effect of pro-LGBT SMOs on collective action against homosexuals' rights by old-fashioned homonegativity did not reach significance (IE = -0.07, SE = 0.31, 95% CI [-0.81, 0.51], Z = -0.24, p = .814), which contradicted H44. In a similar vein, between-level contact did not predict either the old-fashioned (B = 0.08, SE = 1.30, 95% CI [-2.46, 2.62], p = .953) or the modern (B = 0.48, SE = 0.82, 95% CI [-1.13, 2.09], p = .561) type of sexual prejudice. By contrast, the positive effect of SMOs on contact with gay men and lesbians remained significant (B = 0.15, SE = 0.07, 95% CI [0.01, 0.30], p = .036).

Results did not change substantively when covariates were added into the model (Model 4, Table 27). At the within level of analysis, collective action against homosexuals' rights was predicted solely by old-fashioned homonegativity (B = 0.29, SE = 0.06, 95% CI [0.17, 0.41], p < .001). Importantly, the indirect effect of contact via traditional type of sexual prejudice was still significant, IE = -0.16, SE = 0.04, 95% CI [-0.25, -0.08], Z = -3.78, p < .001. At the between level of analysis, the DV was predicted positively by old-fashioned homonegativity (B = 0.74, SE = 0.22, 95% CI [0.32, 1.18], p = .001) and negatively by conservative ideological climate (B = -3.25, SE = 1.27, 95% CI [-5.74, -0.76], p = .010). Importantly, the indirect effects of pro-LGBT SMOs through contact (IE = 0.07, SE = 0.24,

95% *CI* [-0.37, 0.69], *Z* = 0.29, *p* = .774) and old-fashioned homonegativity (*IE* = -0.10, *SE* = 0.42, 95% *CI* [-0.86, 0.66], *Z* = -0.24, *p* = .808) did not reach significance.

10.2.3. Supplementary analyses

In the final part of the analysis, we examined the two factors that could have biased present results. First, we investigated the impact of the missing data. Second, we considered the alternative model of the relationships between meso- and micro-level antecedents of LGBT rights-related engagement.

Accounting for missing data with multiple imputation (10 imputed datasets) did not change the conclusions. When solidarity-based collective action was concerned, within-level contact promoted engagement by diminishing modern homonegativity, *IE* = 0.28, *SE* = 0.05, 95% *CI* [0.18, 0.38], *Z* = 5.43, *p* < .001. Importantly, this effect was significantly stronger than the indirect effect through the old-fashioned type of sexual prejudice (*IE* = 0.01, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [-0.05, 0.06], *Z* = 0.23, *p* = .822; $\chi^2(1) = 16.50$, *p* < .001). At the same time, modern homonegativity was the only between-level predictor that exerted a significant effect on collective action in support of homosexuals' rights, *B* = -0.97, *SE* = 0.39, 95% *CI* [-1.73, -0.20], *p* = .013. When collective action against homosexuals' rights served as the DV, within-level contact decreased the outcome variable by lowering old-fashioned (*IE* = -0.21, *SE* = 0.05, 95% *CI* [-0.31, -0.12], *Z* = -4.40, *p* < .001) but not modern homonegativity, *IE* = 0.02, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [-0.06, 0.09], *Z* = 0.43, *p* = .669; $\chi^2(1) = 11.23$, *p* < .001. At the between level of analysis, engagement against homosexuals' rights was increased by old-fashioned homonegativity (*B* = 0.75, *SE* = 0.23, 95% *CI* [0.31, 1.20], *p* = .001), confirming the contextual effect of this type of prejudice.

Table 27

County- and individual-level predictors of collective against LGBT rights (Study 8)

	Model 1		Model 2
Predicted variables	Collective action against LGBT rights	Intergroup contact	Old-fashioned homonegativity
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	2.91 (0.20)***	-0.04 (0.03)	3.07 (0.14)***
Individual level (IL) effects			
Old-fashioned homonegativity			
Modern homonegativity			
Intergroup contact			-0.16 (0.14)
Conservative voting			
Gender			
Age			
Education			
Subjective economic situation			
Settlement size			
County level (CL) effects			
Old-fashioned homonegativity			
Modern homonegativity			
Intergroup contact			0.98 (1.25)
SMOs	-0.17 (0.27)	0.16 (0.07)*	-0.34 (0.33)
Conservative ideological climate			
City county			
Unemployment			
IL variation of the predicted variable	2.91 (0.20)***	0.30 (0.05)***	2.90 (0.20)***
CL variation of the predicted variable	0.79 (0.18)***	0.02 (0.01)	0.78 (0.18)***
-2 log-likehood	3630.48	5320.00	

Note. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Continuous explanatory variables were centered to their grand means. Gender was coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 27 (continued)

County- and individual-level predictors of collective against LGBT rights (Study 8)

	Model 3			
Predicted variables	Intergroup contact	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Collective action against LGBT rights
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	0.02 (0.01)	0.63 (0.15)***	0.24 (0.08)**	0.51 (0.14)***
Individual level (IL) effects				
Old-fashioned homonegativity				0.29 (0.06)***
Modern homonegativity				-0.03 (0.08)
Intergroup contact		-0.73 (0.10)***	-0.56 (0.08)***	0.05 (0.12)
Conservative voting				
Gender				
Age				
Education				
Subjective economic situation				
Settlement size				
County level (CL) effects				
Old-fashioned homonegativity				0.75 (0.23)**
Modern homonegativity				-0.40 (0.34)
Intergroup contact		0.08 (1.30)	0.48 (0.82)	1.15 (1.15)
SMOs	0.15 (0.07)*	-0.10 (0.41)	-0.24 (0.25)	-0.35 (0.30)
Conservative ideological climate				
City county				
Unemployment				
IL variation of the predicted variable	0.30 (0.50)***	2.59 (0.14)***	1.55 (0.12)***	2.69 (0.19)***
CL variation of the predicted variable	0.02 (0.01)	0.63 (0.15)***	0.24 (0.08)**	0.51 (0.14)***
-2 log-likehood		12132.77		

Note. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Continuous explanatory variables were centered to their grand means. Gender was coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 27 (continued)

County- and individual-level predictors of collective against LGBT rights (Study 8)

Predicted variables	Model 4			
	Intergroup contact	Old-fashioned homonegativity	Modern homonegativity	Collective action against LGBT rights
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)
Intercept	0.01 (0.05)	-0.11 (0.20)	-0.28 (0.15)	3.07 (0.23)***
Individual level (IL) effects				
Old-fashioned homonegativity				0.29 (0.06)***
Modern homonegativity				-0.03 (0.07)
Intergroup contact		-0.55 (0.08)***	-0.41 (0.07)***	-0.02 (0.12)
Conservative voting	-0.03 (0.01)**	0.55 (0.15)***	0.46 (0.09)***	0.26 (0.16)
Gender	0.01 (0.01)	-0.20 (0.12)	-0.18 (0.08)*	0.01 (0.08)
Age	-0.18 (0.03)***	0.12 (0.03)***	0.13 (0.03)***	-0.04 (0.03)
Education	0.43 (0.08)***	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.06 (0.02)
Subjective economic situation	0.03 (0.02)	-0.13 (0.07)	0.02 (0.06)	0.001 (0.08)
Settlement size	0.11 (0.18)	0.13 (0.08)	0.02 (0.06)	0.06 (0.08)
County level (CL) effects				
Old-fashioned homonegativity				0.75 (0.22)**
Modern homonegativity				-0.10 (0.37)
Intergroup contact		0.07 (1.25)	0.84 (0.73)	0.33 (1.10)
SMOs	0.21 (0.08)**	-0.14 (0.54)	-0.27 (0.33)	-0.63 (0.42)
Conservative ideological climate	-0.60 (0.25)*	1.73 (1.02)	1.48 (0.86)	-3.25 (1.27)*
City county	-0.16 (0.11)	-0.47 (0.48)	0.16 (0.35)	-0.003 (0.47)
Unemployment	0.002 (0.004)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.06 (0.02)*
IL variation of the predicted variable	0.30 (0.05)***	2.42 (0.12)***	1.44 (0.11)***	2.63 (0.19)***
CL variation of the predicted variable	0.02 (0.01)	0.60 (0.15)***	0.21 (0.07)**	0.40 (0.13)**
-2 log-likehood		31585.35		

Note. Entries are unstandardized estimates. Continuous explanatory variables were centered to their grand means. Gender was coded -0.5 for men and 0.5 for women. Age divided by 10.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

In the present dissertation we proposed to think of meso- and micro-level antecedents of collective action in terms of cross-level mediation. However, alternative conceptualizations are also viable. Specifically, meso-level properties may moderate the effects exerted by micro-level characteristics, creating a cross-level interaction (Preacher et al., 2006). For example, pro-LGBT SMOs may mitigate the positive effect of old-fashioned homonegativity on anti-LGBT engagement. To check this possibility, we tested a series of models, where the relationships between individual-level variables were allowed to differ between the counties (i.e. random-coefficient models; see Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). When solidarity-based engagement was concerned, neither the within-level effect of intergroup contact ($\tau = 0.06$, $SE = 0.08$, $Z = 0.73$, $p = .467$) nor the within-level effect of old-fashioned homonegativity ($\tau = 0.03$, $SE = 0.02$, $Z = 1.63$, $p = .103$) showed significant amount of county-level variance. On the other hand, the negative effect of modern homonegativity differed between the counties, $\tau = 0.10$, $SE = 0.04$, $Z = 2.41$, $p = .016$. However, it was not explained by any of county-level properties assessed in Study 8 (all ps > .102). Regarding collective action against LGBT rights, the within-level effect of intergroup contact ($\tau = 0.16$, $SE = 0.13$, $Z = 1.20$, $p = .232$) did not demonstrate substantial inter-county variability. At the same time, the within-level effects of old-fashioned ($\tau = 0.10$, $SE = 0.02$, $Z = 4.03$, $p < .001$) and modern homonegativity ($\tau = 0.20$, $SE = 0.05$, $Z = 3.79$, $p < .001$) on anti-LGBT engagement exhibited significant county-level variance. While none of considered county-level properties explained the variability in the effect of modern homonegativity (all ps > .174), the effect of old-fashioned homonegativity depended on the rate of unemployment, $B = -0.03$, $SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [-0.05, -0.01], $p = .001$. In other words, in counties characterized by the higher (rather than lower) unemployment the positive effect of old-fashioned homonegativity on anti-LGBT engagement was weaker. Summing up, since the results of cross-level moderation analyses

were rather inconclusive, we did not have the reason to adopt the alternative interpretation of the present data.

10.3. Discussion

The primary aim of Study 8 was to examine the meso-level antecedents of heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action related to the rights of sexual minorities. As shown by the present results, neither engagement in support of or against the rights of homosexual people depended on the existence of local SMOs, prompting us to reject H25 and H42, respectively. Consequently, the potential mechanisms through which SMOs could affect engagement did not receive from the data either. Specifically, contrary to H26 and H27, the positive effect of SMOs on collective action in support of homosexuals' rights was not mediated either by contact with gay men and lesbians or the decrease of modern homonegativity. Likewise, contact and old-fashioned homonegativity did not mediate the negative effect of pro-LGBT SMOs on collective action against the rights of sexual minorities, which suggested the rejection of H43 and H44.

There are several explanations of these null results. First, current findings may be attributed to the minority-centered profile of Polish LGBT rights movement. Although the youngest generation of LGBT SMOs consider social change toward equality as one of their primary goals (Ayoub & Chetaille, 2017), only the largest organisations have the resources to convey their message to the wide heterosexual/cisgender audience. For instance, Let's Exchange the Sign of Peace [Przekażmy sobie znak pokoju] – the most recent campaign targeting majority members – was co-sponsored by the Campaign Against Homophobia and had a nationwide rather than regional character (Luxmoore, 2016). On the other hand, the efforts of small organisations seem to focus predominantly on identity building or providing local LGBT communities with necessary assistance. As such, while their presence may affect

minority members (which was the case in Study 2), it does not have to translate into attitudes prevalent among the heterosexual/cisgender residents of a given county. Future research would do well to provide a more detailed description of LGBT SMOs. One idea is to assess the proportion of resources devoted by each of these organisations to target minority and majority members.

Alternatively, limited effects of SMOs registered in the current research may originate from study design. First and foremost, present results may be affected by the failure to differentiate between minority and majority representatives. Specifically, if LGBT SMOs exert opposite effects on attitudes and behaviour of LGBT and heterosexual/cisgender people, mixing responses provided by these two groups of participants could lead to null results. Although our decision not to ask respondents about their sexual orientation was justified by the hostile climate toward LGBT minority and the reactive character of face-to-face interviews, assessing this variable should be considered in the future studies. Perhaps, the relatively nonintrusive way to measure sexual orientation would rely on allowing respondents to interact directly with the computer while answering the relevant question (Tourangeau, 2018).

Another potential reason why we did not obtain significant effects of SMOs on collective action is the small sample size at the meso level of analysis. In comparison to Study 2, which analysed data from 333 out of 380 Polish counties (Figure 5), the coverage of Study 8 was much smaller (Figure 27). The sample size of 98 counties could entail large standard errors, and further preclude statistically significant findings. Furthermore, the single-item measures of collective action – a solution employed due to high costs of representative survey research – were clearly suboptimal.

However, despite the null effects of SMOs, Study 8 provided some insights on the meso-level antecedents of collective action related to LGBT rights. Between-level old-

fashioned homonegativity promoted anti-LGBT engagement over and above the individual level of traditional prejudice of homosexuals, suggesting a contextual effect of this variable (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). In other words, irrespectively of their own sexual prejudice, respondents living in counties where old-fashioned homonegativity was stronger (rather than weaker) were more likely to engage in collective action intended to limit the rights of homosexual people. This result adds to the literature by showing that outgroup-related engagement does not depend solely on individual characteristics such as prejudice or intergroup contact, but also on beliefs prevalent in a community a person belongs to. Importantly, the contextual effect of old-fashioned homonegativity occurred independently from other potentially relevant county-level factors, such as conservative ideological climate, unemployment rate and county status.

Furthermore, Study 8 showed that pro-LGBT SMOs fostered contact with gay men and lesbians – in counties where LGBT rights movement had been institutionalised having homosexual friends and acquaintances was more common. This result supports our theorizing that pro-LGBT SMOs may facilitate encounters between the members of heterosexual/cisgender majority and LGBT minority.

Finally, Study 8 replicated the results of Studies 4-7 at the micro-level of analysis. Given the methodological shortcomings of the present survey (e.g., mixing responses obtained from majority and minority members), current results demonstrate the robustness of some relationships investigated in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 11[106]

STUDY 9

Ideally, Study 9 – the last element of our research programme – should check whether and how macro-level properties affect collective action among heterosexual/cisgender individuals. To do so, one would need to either collect data on one's own (which is a costly enterprise) or employ data collected by someone else. Neither of these solutions could be applied in the current research. First, financial constraints did not allow us to conduct an original comparative study of engagement in solidarity with or against sexual and gender minorities. Second, none of publicly available cross-cultural datasets seemed to include data on collective action related to LGBT rights. Therefore, being restricted by resources and data availability, we decided to investigate if macro-level factors translate into sexual prejudice and intergroup contact – the two micro-level antecedents of heterosexuals' engagement (see Studies 4-8) assessed in international surveys. As such, Study 9 did not examine if macro-level factors *did* exert any effects on collective action related to LGBT rights. Instead, we sought to check whether institutional stigma – the macro-level property of our main interest – *could* affect engagement of majority members.

There is a lot of evidence on the prejudice-inspiring effects of institutional sexual stigma. Heterosexist legal regulations were shown to increase disapproval of homosexual lifestyle (Hooghe & Meeusen, 2013; Kuntz et al., 2015; van den Akker et al., 2012), lower tolerance of homosexuality (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009; Slenders et al., 2014) and weaken support for same-sex adoption (Takács et al., 2016). Based on this evidence and the premises

[106] This chapter is based on Górska, P., van Zomeren, M., & Bilewicz, M. (2017). Intergroup Contact as the Missing Link Between LGB Rights and Sexual Prejudice. *Social Psychology*, 48, 321-334. Doi: 10.1027/1864-9335/a000313

of sexual stigma theoretical framework (Herek 2004, 2007, 2009), we expected that institutional stigma would increase sexual prejudice (H29).

Furthermore, we hypothesized that the positive relationship between state-sponsored homophobia and anti-homosexual attitudes would be mediated by intergroup contact (H30). Past research revealed that when considered as a property of larger social units (e.g., countries or organizations), intergroup contact serves as a powerful predictor of outgroup-directed attitudes. For instance, variability in the opportunities and the actual experiences of intergroup contact was shown to explain why certain regions differ in the strength of ethnic prejudice (Wagner, Van Dick, Pettigrew, & Christ, 2003). Moreover, research on the contextual effect of intergroup contact (Christ et al., 2014) demonstrated that the societal-level effect of intergroup contact can be even stronger than its individual-level counterpart. Thus, we felt legitimate to expect that higher societal prevalence of intergroup contact with minority representatives would diminish majority members' sexual prejudice. At the same time, we hypothesized that the occurrence of intergroup contact with sexual minorities would be decreased by heterosexist legal regulations (H28). As discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4, we reasoned that discriminatory legal arrangements may discourage minority members from disclosing their identity and prompt heterosexual/cisgender people to avoid encounters with stigmatized individuals. Taken together, these two processes should entail lower prevelance of intergroup contact with sexual minorities at the societal level.

11.1. Method

11.1.1. Data source

To test our hypotheses, we utilized Standard Eurobarometer data (European Commission, 2016). The Standard Eurobarometer is a regular survey carried out each autumn and spring in all EU Member States (for a complete list see Table 28). In addition to the

constant core, the study questionnaire is usually supplemented by the sections related to special topics (e.g., gender equality, discrimination or climate change) that differ between the waves. In the spring of 2015, respondents were asked about their contact with LGB individuals as well as their attitudes toward this group. It should be noted that although many cross-national surveys measure attitudes toward homosexuality, the assessment of contact with sexual minorities' members is a rather rare occurrence. Another unique property of the Eurobarameter survey is the assessment of respondents' minority status, since study participants could declare whether they considered themselves an LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or transsexual) person.

11.1.2. Participants

The original dataset contained responses from 27,718 individuals from 28 European Union Member countries. After excluding records of participants who identified themselves as LGBT individuals (n = 309), the sample was limited to 27,409 respondents. Participants' age ranged from 15 to 96 (M = 50.06, SD = 18.23). Women constituted 56.1% of the sample.

11.1.3. Measures

Individual-level variables. Intergroup contact was measured with a single question "Do you have friends or acquaintances who are gay, lesbian or bisexual?" (1 = *yes*, 2 = *no*). This indicator gauges the degree of *direct* and relatively *positive* intergroup interaction – the latter being the crucial element of successful intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Before analyses, participants' scores were recoded so that 0 denoted the lack of intergroup contact and 1 reflected knowing an LGB person.

To avoid mono-measure bias, our analyses utilized multiple indices of sexual prejudice. By employing the measures of discomfort with public displays of affection, social

distance and disapproval for LGB rights, we aimed to tap on affective, behavioral and policy-oriented aspect of attitudes toward LGB people. Prior to analysis participants' responses were recoded so that higher scores reflected less favorable attitudes toward the target group.

Discomfort with public displays of affection was assessed with two items, $r = .93$, $p < .001$. Participants were asked how comfortable they would feel with gay (two men) / lesbian (two women) couples showing affection (e.g. kissing or holding hands) in public (1 = *not at all comfortable*, 10 = *totally comfortable*).

Social distance was measured with three items ($\alpha = .84$). Respondents were asked to report whether they would feel comfortable if a gay, lesbian or bisexual person held the highest elected political position in their country / was one of their colleagues at work / was in a love relationship with one of their children (1 = *not at all comfortable*, 10 = *totally comfortable*). Importantly, since past research revealed that social distance is better predicted by old-fashioned than modern homonegativity (Górska, Bilewicz, Winiewski, & Waszkiewicz, 2017), we treated it as a proxy for the traditional type of sexual prejudice.

Disapproval of LGB rights was measured with two questions, $r_s = .76$, $p < .001$. Respondents were asked to report to what extent they agreed with the following statements: "Gay, lesbian and bisexual people should have the same rights as heterosexual people" and "Same-sex marriages should be allowed throughout Europe" (1 = *totally agree*, 2 = *tend to agree*, 3 = *tend to disagree*, 4 = *totally disagree*). As support for LGB civil rights exhibited stronger negative correlation with modern than old-fashioned homonegativity in the past research (Górska, Bilewicz, Winiewski, & Waszkiewicz, 2017), we interpreted disapproval of LGB rights as a proxy for the modern type of sexual prejudice.

Since the primary aim of the present study was to extract the unique effects of institutional stigma and intergroup contact on prejudice, in our analyses, we controlled for an array of individual properties – i.e., gender (-0.5 = *male*, 0.5 = *female*), age, age of stopping

full-time education, perceived social class (1 = *the working class of society*, 5 = *the higher class of society*), political conservatism (1 = *left*, 10 = *right*), religious denomination (1 = *Non believer/agnostic/atheist*, 2 = *Catholic*, 3 = *Orthodox Christian*, 4 = *Protestant*, 5 = *Other Christian*, 6 = *Jewish*, 7 = *Muslim*, 8 = *Other religion*) and settlement size (1 = *rural area or village*, 3 = *large town*). As demonstrated consistently in the past research, female, young, well-educated, financially affluent, politically liberal and non-religious individuals display lower sexual prejudice in comparison to their counterparts (Herek, 2009).

Societal-level variables. Following Study 3, we used two indicators of institutional stigma. Whereas one of the indicators assessed present legal arrangements (e.g., family rights and hate crime protection), the other was based on the time since same-sex couples legal recognition – the milestone event in the process of sexual minorities' emancipation (Carroll, 2016). Because this temporal measure of LGB rights reflects the time that elapsed since the specific event in the past, it fits conceptually with the notion that legal changes precede present-day attitudes.

Rainbow Europe Index published by ILGA Europe (2015b) served as the measure of present LGB-related legislation. The index combines various areas of LGBTQI individuals' legal recognition, (i.e., protection from discrimination or relational rights) and has been used in past social research (Kuntz et al., 2015) and Study 3. In the current sample the values of the index range from 18 (least progressive law) to 86 (most progressive law; see Table 28). Prior to analysis, we transformed the index so that its higher values expressed stronger institutional stigma. We did so by subtracting the values of the actual index from 100.[107]

[107] This modification differentiates the present results from those published in Górska, van Zomeren and Bilewicz (2017), where the raw values of the Rainbow Europe Index have been used.

Time in years since same-sex couples legal recognition – either in the form of marriage or civil union – was assessed on the basis of data available in ILGA state-sponsored homophobia report (Carroll, 2016) and other sources (Table 28). Prior to analysis, we multiplied the values presented in Table 28 by -1 so that higher values reflected greater extent of institutional stigma.[108]

To check LGB-related legislation against other societal-level explanations of sexual prejudice, we controlled for countries' economic development and degree of secularization. Modernization theory (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005) postulates that unfavorable attitudes toward homosexuality are stronger in more religious and less affluent societies, where traditional and survival values prevail over secular-rational and self-expression values, respectively. Numerous studies support this premise: countries' secularization and economic development predict individuals' sexual prejudice negatively (e.g. Slenders et al., 2014) and, therefore, should be controlled in the analyses of institutional stigma effects.

Country secularization was operationalized as the 2010 proportion of individuals unaffiliated with any religious denomination in the given society (Pew Research Center, 2015). Furthermore, as the measure of country economic affluence, we used gross domestic product per capita converted into purchasing power standard (EU 28 = 1; Eurostat, 2016a). Table 28 displays the values of societal-level variables for all analyzed countries.

[108] In Górska, van Zomeren and Bilewicz (2017) time since same-sex couples legal recognition was not multiplied by -1.

Table 28

Values of Societal-level Variables for all Analyzed Countries

Country	Rainbow Europe Index 2015	Years since the introduction of civil unions	Secularizatio (proportion)	GDP per capita
Austria	52	5	13.5	1.27
Belgium	83	15	29	1.17
Bulgaria	27	0	4.2	0.46
Croatia	71	1	5.1	0.58
Cyprus	18	0	1.2	0.81
Czech Republic	35	9	76.4	0.85
Denmark	68	26	11.8	1.24
Estonia	34	0	59.6	0.74
Finland	62	13	19.1	1.08
France	65	16	28	1.06
Germany	56	14	24.7	1.25
Greece	39	0	6.1	0.71
Hungary	50	6	18.6	0.68
Ireland	40	4	6.2	1.45
Italy	22	0	12.4	0.95
Latvia	18	0	43.8	0.64
Lithuania	19	0	10	0.74
Luxembourg	43	11	26.8	2.71
Malta	77	1	2.5	0.89
Netherlands	69	17	42.1	1.29
Poland	26	0	5.6	0.69
Portugal	67	14	7.5	0.77
Romania	28	0	0.1	0.57
Slovakia	29	0	14.3	0.77
Slovenia	32	9	18	0.83
Spain	69	17[a]	19	0.92
Sweden	72	20	27	1.23
United Kingdom	86	10	27.8	1.10

Note.

[a] Value for Catalonia that was the first autonomous community to implement civil unions.

[b] Value for East Germany. West Germany legalized homosexuality a year later.

[c] Value for England and Wales. Scotland and Northern Ireland legalized homosexuality 14 and 15 years later, respectively.

11.2. Results

11.2.1. Preliminary analyses

We first examined whether the established relationships between sexual prejudice and demographic variables such as gender, religious denomination or age were replicated in the current dataset. This aimed to check the reliability of the present dataset before hypotheses testing. Gender differentiated social distance ($t(26145) = 5.72$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.07$ [0.05, 0.10]) and disapproval for LGB rights ($t(26433) = 5.03$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.06$ [0.04, 0.09]), but not discomfort with public displays of affection, $t(23600.29) = -0.80$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.01$ [-0.02, 0.04]). In comparison to men, women displayed lower social distance ($M_{men} = 4.95$, $SD_{men} = 3.20$, $M_{women} = 4.73$, $SD_{women} = 3.20$) and lower disapproval for LGB rights ($M_{men} = 2.26$, $SD_{men} = 1.08$, $M_{women} = 2.19$, $SD_{women} = 1.08$). Furthermore, participants' gender was related to intergroup contact, $\chi^2(1) = 12.35$, $V = .02$, $p < .001$. Whereas 41.2% of female respondents declared to know a homosexual person, 39.0% of male participants reported to do so.

As far as religious denomination was concerned, it differentiated discomfort with public displays of affection ($F(7, 23378) = 359.58$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$), social distance ($F(7, 24756) = 405.72$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$) and disapproval of LGB rights, $F(7, 25011) = 404.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Across all these measures, Christian Orthodox respondents consistently declared the highest level of negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. The intercorrelations for the remaining variables are presented in Table 29. In principle, the relationships between respondents' demographic properties and sexual prejudice replicated those registered in past research (Herek, 2009).

Table 29

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the variables involved in the follow-up to Study 9

Individual-level variables	*N*	*M*	*SD*	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Discomfort with public dispays of affection	24,658	6.18	3.54	.69***	.64***	-.49***	.21***	-.21***	-.08***	-.16***	.13***
2. Social distance	26,147	4.83	3.20		.68***	-.51***	.12***	-.19***	-.06***	-.15***	.13***
3. Disapproval of LG rights	26,435	2.22	1.08			-.49***	.15***	-.19***	-.08***	-.15***	.16***
4. Intergroup contact	26,207	0.40	0.49				-.19***	.23***	.08***	.18***	-.10***
5. Age	27,392	50.06	18.23					-.13***	.01	-.09***	.01
6. Education	24,765	19.7	5.09						.04***	.34***	-.02**
7. Settlement size	27,409	2.28	1.07							.10***	-.03***
8. Subjective social class	26,346	2.31	1.00								.07***
9. Political conservatism	21,768	5.27	2.31								
County-level variables	*N*	*M*	*SD*	11.	12.	13.					
10. Institutional stigma: Rainbow Europe Index	28	51.54	21.62	.69***	-.05	-.27					
11. Institutional stigma: temporal measure	28	-7.43	7.73		-.25	-.46*					
12. Secularization	28	0.20	0.18			.15					
13. GDP per capita	28	0.98	0.43								

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Note. All entries are Pearson's *r* coefficients or point-biserial correlations.

11.2.2. Main analyses

11.2.2.1. Analytical strategy

Due to the two-level structure of the data (individuals nested within countries)[109] we embedded our analyses in a multilevel modeling framework. Differences between the countries explained 13% of variance in intergroup contact (ICC = .13, *SE* = .04, 95% CI [.09; .22], $p < .001$)[110], 27% of variance in the discomfort with public displays of affection ICC = .27, *SE* = .06, 95% CI [.18, .40], $p < .001$), 34% of variance in social distance (ICC = .34, *SE* = .07, 95% CI [.24, .49], $p < .001$) and 29% of variance in disapproval for LGB rights, ICC = .29, *SE* = .06, 95% CI [.20, .43], $p < .001$. The considerable size of ICCs corroborates prior conclusion that attitudes toward gay men and lesbians are strongly affected by the societal context (see Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009).

To verify the main hypothesis, we tested three multilevel models with multiple DVs (Table 30). In Model 1, institutional stigma operationalized with the Rainbow Europe Index was the between-level independent variable, while the three measures of prejudice – discomfort with public displays of affection, social distance and disapproval of LGB rights – constituted DVs. In Model 2, intergroup contact was introduced as the between- and within-level mediator (Figure 33). Finally, Model 3 controlled for the covariates at both levels of analysis.

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[109] Current data could be also considered to have a three-level structure (individuals nested within regions and regions nested within countries). However, as shown by the supplementary analyses, the regional level (NUTS 1 units; Eurostat, 2016b) did not account for the substantial amount of variance in any of the DVs.

[110] Due to the use of Bayesian estimation, in the remaining part of this dissertation *p*-values denote one-tailed *p*-values based on the posterior distribution, and 95% CIs refer to credibility intervals.

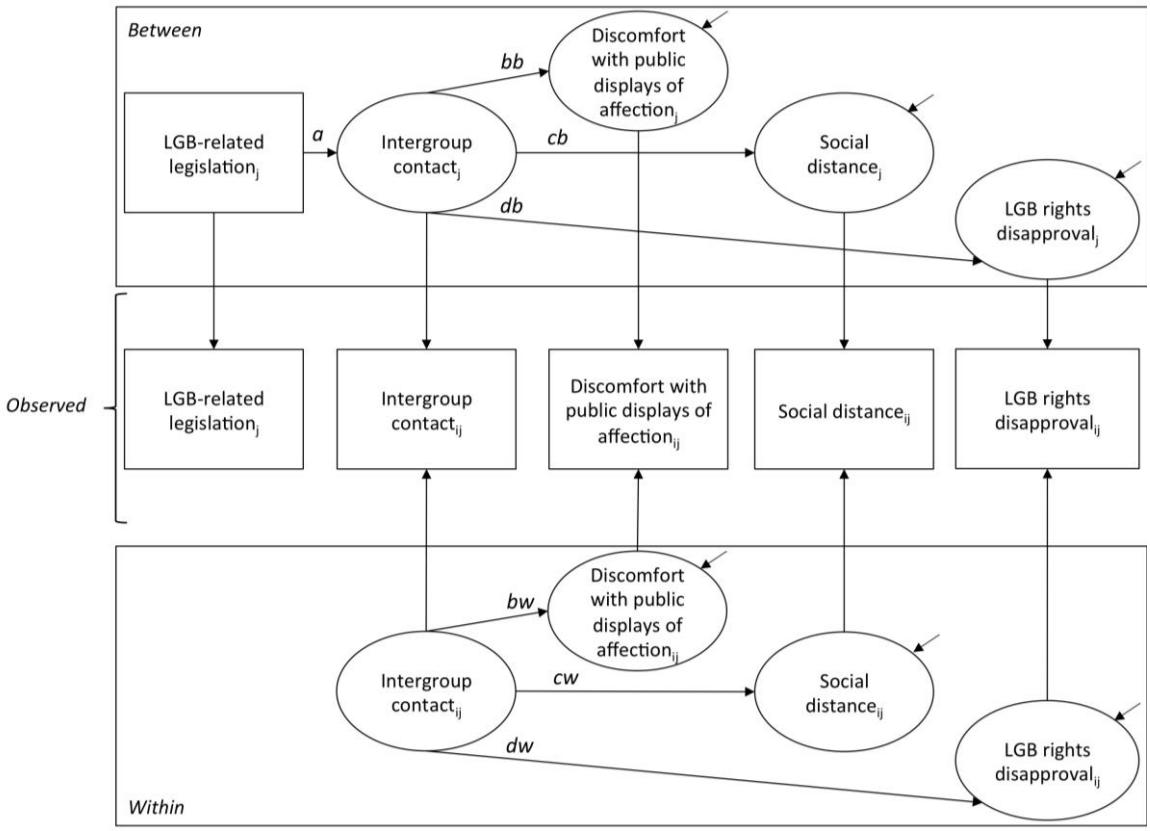

Figure 33. The MSEM analysis of the proposed multilevel mediation hypothesis (Study 9). *Note*. Adapted from Preacher, Zyphur, & Zhang, 2010.

Following Studies 2 and 8, to test a multilevel mediation, we applied a multilevel structural equations modeling paradigm (MSEM; Preacher et al., 2010), which allows partitioning within- and between-level latent components of observed level-1 variables. In the current analyses (Figure 33), institutional stigma, which served as the country-level predictor, had only a between component of variance (i.e., it did not vary within the clusters). By contrast, the variance of intergroup contact (mediator) and different measures of prejudice (DVs) – all individual-level variables – was partitioned into within- and between-level latent components. The indirect effects involved the between-level effect of institutional stigma on intergroup contact (path *a* in Figure 33) and the between-level effects of intergroup contact on prejudice (paths *bb, cb, and db* in Figure 33). Additionally, we controlled for the within-level

effects of intergroup contact on prejudice (paths *bw, cw, and dw* in Figure 33) – a necessary step to obtain the contextual effects of intergroup contact (see Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002).

Because of the relatively[111] small number of societal-level units (i.e., countries, N = 28) our analyses employed Bayesian estimation (see van de Schoot et al., 2013 for a gentle introduction). In the context of multilevel SEM, the key feature of this method relies on its good performance when level-2 sample size is small. As shown by Hox, van de Schoot and Matthijasse (2012), unlike maximum likelihood (ML), Bayesian approach allows obtaining accurate estimates with as many as 20 countries in comparative survey research. Furthermore, because Bayesian estimation does not assume the normal distribution of models' parameters (Kruschke, 2011), it provides more accurate standard error estimates of indirect effects.

We tested all models in Mplus 7.1. Bayesian estimation was performed with the default specifications available in this software (e.g., uninformative priors; Muthén & Asparouhov, 2012). To assess the quality of subsequent models, we used posterior predictive *p*-values (*ppp*-values). The ppp-values close to .50 indicate a good fit of the given model (Lee, 2007).

11.2.2.2. Hypotheses testing

As shown by the results for Model 1 (Table 30), institutional stigma exerted a positive effect discomfort with public displays of affection (B = 0.06, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [0.03, 0.09], $p < .001$), social distance (B = 0.06, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [0.03, 0.09], $p < .001$) and disapproval for LGB rights (B = 0.02, SE = 0.004, 95% CI [0.01, 0.03], $p < .001$). These results confirmed H29 and were in line with the past research (e.g. Kuntz et al., 2015).

[111] Simulation studies (e.g., Meuleman & Billiet, 2009) hinted 50 countries as the minimum sample size in comparative surveys employing multilevel SEM and ML estimator.

When intergroup contact was introduced to the model (Model 2, Table 30), the effects of heterosexist legal arrangements on the DVs lost significance (all *p*s > .114). At the same time, institutional stigma predicted societal-level intergroup contact negatively (*B* = -0.01, *SE* = 0.002, 95% *CI* [-0.01, -0.004], *p* < .001), which confirmed H28. Furthermore, intergroup contact exerted negative societal-level effects on discomfort with public displays of affection (*B* = -6.76, *SE* = 0.93, 95% *CI* [-8.65, -4.95], *p* < .001), social distance (*B* = 6.71, *SE* = 0.96, 95% *CI* [-8.62, -4.80], *p* < .001) and disapproval for LGB rights, *B* = -2.23, *SE* = 0.27, 95% *CI* [-2.77, -1.69], *p* < .001. In line with H31, societal-level intergroup contact mediated the positive effects of institutional stigma on discomfort with public displays of affection (*IE* = 0.05, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.03, 0.08], *p* < .001), social distance (*IE* = 0.05, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.03, 0.08], *p* < .001), and disapproval for LGB rights, *IE* = 0.02, *SE* = 0.004, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.03], *p* < .001. At the same time, within-level intergroup contact diminished all three DVs. Since discomfort with public displays of affection, social distance, and disapproval for LGB rights were more strongly reduced by between- than within-level intergroup contact, present results confirmed the contextual effect of intergroup contact (Christ et al., 2014).

Importantly, controlling for within- and between-level covariates did not alter the results in a substantial way. Institutional stigma still increased discomfort with public displays of attention (*IE* = 0.03, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.06], *p* = .004), social distance (*IE* = 0.04, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.02, 0.06], *p* = .001) and disapproval for LGB rights (*IE* = 0.01, *SE* = 0.004, 95% *CI* [0.01, 0.02], *p* = .002) by lowering intergroup contact.

11.2.3. Supplementary analyses

In order to check whether the current results were independent from the specific operationalization of institutional stigma, we repeated the analysis using the time-based measure of heterosexist legal regulations.

When intergroup contact was not included in the model, institutional stigma exerted positive effects on disapproval of public displays of affection (*B* = 0.18, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.12, 0.25], $p < .001$), social distance (*B* = 0.18, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [0.11, 0.25], $p < .001$) and disapproval of LGB rights, *B* = 0.06, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.04, 0.08], $p < .001$. These effects decreased when intergroup contact was introduced at the between- and the within-level of analysis. Institutional stigma decreased intergroup contact (*B* = -0.02, *SE* = 0.004, 95% *CI* [-0.03, -0.01], $p < .001$) and societal-level intergroup contact mediated the positive relationship between heterosexist legal regulations and discomfort with the public displays of affection (*IE* = 0.13, *SE* = 0.03, 95% *CI* [0.07, 0.20], $p < .001$), social distance (*B* = 0.14, *SE* = 0.04, 95% *CI* [0.08, 0.22], $p < .001$) and disapproval for LGB rights (*B* = 0.04, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.02, 0.06], $p < .001$). The results were similar when we controlled for the covariates. Thus, using the alternative operationalization of institutional stigma did not affect our conclusions. Since the amount of missing data for the main variables was low, we did not perform analyses accounting for missing data.

Table 30

The effects of institutional stigma on sexual prejudice and intergroup contact (Study 9)

Predicted variables	Model 1					
	Discomfort with public displays of affection		Social distance		LGB rights disapproval	
Predictors	*B*	95% *CI*	*B*	95% *CI*	*B*	95% *CI*
Intercept	6.21	[5.64, 6.79]	4.83	[4.27, 5.40]	2.32	[2.05, 2.42]
Individual level (IL) effects						
Intergroup contact						
Gender						
Age						
Age of finishing full-time education						
Subjective economic situation						
Settlement size						
Political conservatism						
Catholic						
Orthodox						
Protestant						
Other Christian						
Jewish						
Muslim						
Other religion						
Societal level (SL) effects						
Intergroup contact						
Institutional stigma (Rainbow Europe)	0.06	[0.03, 0.09]	0.06	[0.03, 0.09]	0.02	[0.01, 0.03]
Secularization						
GDP per capita						
IL variation of the predicted variable	9.48	[9.31, 9.65]	7.05	[6.93, 7.16]	0.86	[0.84, 0.87]
CL variation of the predicted variable	2.15	[1.21, 4.38]	2.11	[1.19, 4.25]	0.22	[0.12, 0.44]
ppp-value			0.000			

Note. ppp-value = posteriori predictive p-value. Gender coded -.50 for men and .50 for women. Age and age of finishing full-time education divided by 10. Atheists and agnostics/non-believers served as a reference category for religious denomination. Continuous individual- and societal-level predictors were grand-mean centered prior to the analysis. Unstandardized coefficients reported.
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 30 (continued)

The effects of institutional stigma on sexual prejudice and intergroup contact (Study 9)

Predicted variables	Model 2							
	Intergroup contact		Discomfort with public displays of affection		Social distance		LGB rights disapproval	
Predictors	*B*	95% *CI*	*B*	95% *CI*	*B*	95% *CI*	*B*	95% *CI*
Intercept	0.41	[.34, .48]	6.10	[5.56, 6.62]	4.78	[4.24, 5.29]	2.22	[2.05, 2.39]
Individual level (IL) effects								
Intergroup contact			-2.49	[-2.57, -2.41]	-2.21	[-2.28, -2.13]	-0.72	[-0.75, -0.70]
Gender								
Age								
Age of finishing full-time education								
Subjective economic situation								
Settlement size								
Political conservatism								
Catholic								
Orthodox								
Protestant								
Other Christian								
Jewish								
Muslim								
Other religion								
Societal level (SL) effects								
Intergroup contact			-6.76	[-8.65, -4.95]	-6.71	[-8.62, -4.80]	-2.23	[-2.77, -1.69]
Institutional stigma (Rainbow Europe)	-0.01	[-0.01, -0.004]	0.01	[-0.01, 0.03]	0.01	[-0.01, 0.03]	0.002	[-0.003, 0.01]
Secularization								
GDP per capita								
IL variation of the predicted variable	0.19	[0.19,0.19]	8.34	[8.19, 8.49]	6.13	[6.03, 6.24]	0.76	[0.75, 0.77]
CL variation of the predicted variable	0.03	[0.02, 0.06]	0.47	[0.24, 1.04]	0.50	[0.24, 1.09]	0.04	[0.02, 0.08]
ppp-value				.364				

Note. ppp-value = posteriori predictive p-value. Gender coded -.50 for men and .50 for women. Age and age of finishing full-time education divided by 10. Atheists and agnostics/non-believers served as a reference category for religious denomination. Continuous individual- and societal-level predictors were grand-mean centered prior to the analysis. Unstandardized coefficients reported.
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 30 (continued)

The effects of institutional stigma on sexual prejudice and intergroup contact (Study 9)

Predicted variables	Model 2							
	Intergroup contact		Discomfort with public displays of affection		Social distance		LGB rights disapproval	
Predictors	*B*	95% *CI*	*B*	95% *CI*	*B*	95% *CI*	*B*	95% *CI*
Intercept	0.52	[0.47, 0.56]	5.40	[5.01, 5.80]	4.18	[3.77, 4.58]	1.98	[1.84, 2.12]
Individual level (IL) effects								
Intergroup contact			-1.87	[-1.97, -1.77]	-1.75	[-1.84, -1.67]	-0.54	[-0.57, -0.51]
Gender	0.06	[0.05, 0.07]	-0.18	[-0.26, -0.10]	-0.41	[-0.48, -0.35]	-0.13	[-0.15, -0.11]
Age	-0.06	[-0.06, -0.05]	0.33	[0.31, 0.36]	0.14	[0.12, 0.16]	0.07	[0.06, 0.07]
Age of finishing full-time education	0.11	[0.09, 0.12]	-0.34	[-0.43, -0.24]	-0.37	[-0.45, -0.30]	-0.09	[-0.12, -0.07]
Subjective economic situation	0.04	[0.03, 0.05]	0.002	[-0.17, -0.07]	-0.13	[-0.17, -0.09]	-0.05	[-0.06, -0.03]
Settlement size	0.01	[0.001, 0.01]	-0.12	[-0.05, 0.05]	0.02	[-0.02, 0.05]	0.00	[-0.13, 0.01]
Political conservatism	-0.01	[-0.01, -0.01]	0.12	[0.10, 0.13]	0.09	[0.08, 0.11]	0.04	[0.03, 0.04]
Catholic	-0.14	[-0.16, -0.12]	0.54	[0.41, 0.68]	0.48	[0.37, 0.59]	0.20	[0.16, 0.24]
Orthodox	-0.16	[-0.19, -0.12]	1.02	[0.79, 1.26]	0.94	[0.74, 1.13]	0.40	[0.33, 0.47]
Protestant	-0.10	[-0.12, -0.08]	0.47	[0.31, 0.63]	0.36	[0.23, 0.50]	0.21	[0.16, 0.26]
Other Christian	-0.06	[-0.09, -0.03]	0.48	[0.27, 0.68]	0.55	[0.37, 0.72]	0.22	[0.16, 0.28]
Jewish	0.05	[-0.08, 0.17]	0.25	[-0.58, 1.07]	-0.17	[-0.87, 0.52]	-0.14	[-0.38, 0.10]
Muslim	-0.32	[-0.38, -0.26]	1.95	[1.54, 2.36]	1.63	[1.29, 1.97]	0.69	[0.56, 0.81]
Other religion	-0.07	[-0.16, 0.02]	0.04	[-0.57, 0.67]	1.69	[0.17, 1.19]	0.17	[-0.01, 0.35]
Societal level (SL) effects								
Intergroup contact			-5.20	[-8.65, -1.77]	-6.20	[-0.41, -2.99]	-2.25	[-3.37, -1.17]
Institutional stigma (Rainbow Europe)	-0.01	[-0.01, -0.004]	0.01	[-0.01, 0.04]	0.01	[-0.01, 0.04]	0.002	[-0.01, 0.01]
Secularization	-0.06	[-0.32, 0.21]	0.62	[-1.16, 2.45]	1.02	[-0.76, 2.81]	0.17	[-0.40, 0.77]
GDP per capita	0.27	[0.15, 0.38]	-0.62	[-1.83, 0.60]	-0.21	[-1.38, 0.96]	0.93	[-0.29, 0.48]
IL variation of the predicted variable	0.17	[0.16, 0.17]	7.65	[7.49, 7.81]	5.46	[5.35, 5.57]	0.68	[0.67, 0.70]
CL variation of the predicted variable	0.01	[0.01, 0.03]	0.58	[0.29, 1.32]	0.52	[0.25, 1.22]	0.06	[0.03, 0.13]
ppp-value	.397							

Note. ppp-value = posteriori predictive p-value. Gender coded -.50 for men and .50 for women. Age and age of finishing full-time education divided by 10. Atheists and agnostics/non-believers served as a reference category for religious denomination. Continuous individual- and societal-level predictors were grand-mean centered prior to the analysis. Unstandardized coefficients reported.
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$

11.3. Discussion

In Study 9, we examined whether institutional stigma entailed higher sexual prejudice by affecting the prevalence of intergroup contact with LGB individuals. Using data collected in 28 EU Member Countries, we found that discriminatory legal arrangements translated into lower intergroup contact with sexual minorities members' at the societal-level, which in turn led to higher sexual prejudice among heterosexual/cisgender individuals. Importantly, this pattern of results emerged for different measures of institutional stigma. Sexual prejudice and the prevalence of intergroup contact were predicted not only by present legal regulations, but also by time that elapsed since the legal recognition of same-sex couples. The significant effects for the latter, temporal indicator support the top-down interpretation of the relationship between LGB rights and attitudes toward sexual minorities. Furthermore, the results were consistent across different measures of sexual prejudice and held up even after controlling for population composition and pertinent country-level characteristics. Thus, present findings firmly suggest that the well-established association between institutional stigma and negative attitudes toward sexual minorities (e.g. Kuntz et al., 2015) can be explained by the prevalence of intergroup contact in particular societies. Put differently, the current data provide important and new insights in how legislation affects the hearts and minds of people by making intergroup contact more likely.

The present results add to the knowledge in at least five ways. First, by showing that institutional stigma promotes social distance and disapproval of LGB rights, Study 9 suggests that old-fashioned and modern homonegativity – the two types of sexual prejudice examined in the present dissertation – also depend on discriminatory legal arrengements. As Studies 4-8 revealed that old-fashioned and modern homonegativity predict different types of engagement related to LGBT rights, it is legitimate to expect that by affecting sexual prejudice, institutional stigma would also translate to collective action among majority members.

Specifically, discriminatory legal regulations are likely to inhibit solidarity-based collective action and facilitate collective action against LGBT rights. Of course, these hypotheses require future empirical tests. However, it should be emphasized that present findings conform to our theorizing on LGBT rights-related engagement and its macro-level antecedents.

Second, Study 9 extends the catalogue of phenomena shaped by institutional stigma. In line with sexual stigma theoretical framework (Herek, 2009), past research demonstrated that in addition to forming beliefs, behaviors and health of sexual minorities' members (Hatzenbuehler, 2014) legal discrimination of LGB individuals affects also the attitudes of whole (predominantly heterosexual) societies (e.g., Slenders et al., 2014). Present findings show that heterosexism embedded in the state legislation translates also into prevalence of majority members' intergroup contact with LGB individuals, the latter being less commonplace in more homophobic legal environments.

Third, we demonstrate the mechanism through which discriminatory legislation may promote sexual prejudice. Although past studies consistently showed the positive association between institutional stigma and hostility toward sexual minorities, none of them has provided evidence for the process(es) that could explain this relationship. By showing that the positive effect of discriminatory legislation on sexual prejudice is mediated by the societal prevalence of intergroup contact, we fill this important gap.

Fourth, we add to the intergroup contact literature. As noted by Pettigrew and Tropp (2011), multilevel studies linking intergroup contact to macro-institutional level of analysis are rather scarce (for a notable exception, see Christ et al., 2014), which is a serious deficiency, given that "multi-level perspectives are arguably closer to the real-life circumstances" (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011, p. 212) than individual-level approach. In the present contribution we address this shortcoming by demonstrating legal arrangements as the

macro-level source of intergroup contact with LGB individuals. In addition to past research (Wagner et al., 2003), proving that regional differences in prejudice could be explained with the variability in the quantity and quality of intergroup contact, we identify a variable that accounts for cross-country differences in intergroup contact. Besides, we replicate the contextual effect of intergroup contact (Christ et al., 2014) by showing that this is the societal- rather than individual-level amount of intergroup contact with LGB individuals that better predicts sexual prejudice.

Fifth and finally, unlike previous studies that tended to focus on contemporary legal regulations (for the exception, see Slenders et al., 2014), we utilize a historical measure of institutional stigma. The use of the temporal indicator partially solves the problem of causality flow, which is a common issue in institutional stigma-sexual prejudice research. Early location of same-sex couples' legal recognition in the temporal sequence enhances the top-down interpretation of the relationship between structural heterosexism and sexual prejudice.

As with any single study, the current one has its deficiencies. We discuss six limitations that are relevant to the interpretation of our findings. First, although social distance and disapproval for LGB rights serve as the good proxies for old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, the correlations between respective variables are not perfect (Górska, Bilewicz, Winiewski, & Waszkiewicz, 2017). Thus, to undeniably conclude that institutional stigma promotes the two types of sexual prejudice, future studies should employ the actual measures of these constructs.

Second, the cross-sectional character of the Eurobarometer data prevents us from formulating firm causal conclusions. While significant effects for the temporal measure of legal regulations bolsters the top-down understanding of the institutional stigma – sexual prejudice association, only longitudinal data could provide the unequivocal evidence for its accuracy. This would also permit the test of the bottom – up causal flow (i.e., from sexual

prejudice to institutional stigma), which cannot be refuted by the present data and findings. In a similar vein, although our model places intergroup contact before sexual prejudice in the causal chain, it is well-established that the contact-prejudice relationship is bidirectional (e.g., Binder et al., 2009; Herek, & Capitanio, 1996; Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003). Thus, it seems possible that besides promoting prejudice by the decrease of intergroup contact, discriminatory legal arrangements diminish intergroup contact with LGB individuals by facilitating anti-gay attitudes. Future research can flesh out these two possibilities more systematically.

Third, we focused on intergroup contact and thus did not test other mechanisms that could potentially explain the relationship between institutional stigma and sexual prejudice. This was because of two reasons. The first is that this was not the aim of our study, whereas the second is that in the Eurobarometer survey we did not find relevant measures of, for example, the normative climate regarding sexual minorities. Future research may seek to identify additional mediating mechanisms of the relationship between LGB legislation and sexual prejudice.

Similarly, also the contextual effect of intergroup contact merits closer attention. As demonstrated by the present results, even individuals with no direct relationships with LGB people display lower level of sexual prejudice if they live in countries where intergroup contact with sexual minorities is prevalent. What remain unclear, however, are the mechanisms through which societal-level intergroup contact improves attitudes toward sexual minorities. We find it plausible that the processes behind the contextual effect of intergroup contact at least partially overlap with those involved in extended and vicarious contact. A large body of evidence (e.g., Mazziotta, Mummendey, & Wright, 2011; Wright et al., 1997) shows that knowing that in-group members have out-group friends (extended contact) or observing positive cross-group interactions (vicarious contact) reduces prejudice

independently from direct intergroup contact. Importantly, out of the long list of mechanisms explaining these effects (see Vezzali, Hewstone, Capozza, Giovannini, & Wölfer, 2014), only in-group norms have been examined as the mediator of intergroup contact contextual effect. Future studies could consider other intervening mechanisms, such as out-group knowledge or out-group trust.

Next, although unique in the cross-cultural surveys on sexual prejudice, the single-item measure of intergroup contact included in the Standard Eurobarometer questionnaire is rather crude. It assesses whether a respondent has an LGB friend or acquaintance, without gauging the number of known out-group members or differentiating between various types of cross-group relationships (acquaintance vs. cross-group friendship). This unrefined measurement of intergroup contact precludes answering a range of theoretical questions. For example, it is impossible to determine whether progressive legal regulations increase both quantity and quality (see Islam & Hewstone, 1993) of intergroup contact. Nevertheless, even this relatively crude measure taps into direct and positive contact and meets the inclusion criteria of Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis. As such, the necessary use of this item provided us with a fairly conservative test of our hypotheses. Indeed, it is possible that with a better measure, the indirect effect of institutional stigma on prejudice via intergroup contact would have been stronger.

Finally, although we had access to a very large sample of participants from 28 countries, it should be noted that these countries were all EU Members. As a whole, LGB-related policy of the EU Member States is considered to be the most progressive in the world (Kollman, 2013). As such, the present findings may not necessarily generalize to countries outside of the EU where homosexuality is penalized and gay marriage is simply unthinkable (e.g., countries in Sub-Saharian Africa; see Carroll, 2016). To test the universality of

institutional stigma – intergroup contact – sexual prejudice sequence, one would need an even larger database that includes a more diversified sample of countries.

Nevertheless, we do not believe that any of these limitations weakens the very core of our findings — that intergroup contact explains, at least in part, why institutional stigma promotes sexual prejudice. Indeed, we consider the current research an important first step to understanding *how* sexual prejudice – an individual, micro-level property – is shaped by LGB rights – a societal, macro-level phenomenon. Our findings suggest that institutional stigma may be interpreted not only as the violation of equality principle, but also as an obstacle to more friendly relationships between individuals. We believe that progressive legal arrangements effectively break the institutional stigma cycle and thus open up opportunities for intergroup contact and thus prejudice reduction.

CHAPTER 12

GENERAL DISCUSSION

This dissertation had two primary objectives. First, we intended to learn what micro-, meso-, and macro-level factors explain collective action related to LGBT rights. As a strongly galvanizing issue, civil rights of sexual and gender minorities mobilize both their supporters as well as opponents to engage in a range of political behaviors such demonstrating, marching or petition signing (e.g., Eaklor, 2008; Fehlbaum, 2016, Kuhar & Paternotte, 2017). By completing our research programme, we sought to determine what engourages LGBT and heterosexual/cisgender individuals to participate in events intended to increase or limit LGBT rights.

Second, the present work was designed as an attempt to integrate knowledge from different disciplines investigating engagement. By combining insights from political science, sociology and social psychology, we aimed not only to overcome the shortcomings of the latter, but also to enhance the dialogue between different paradigms of collective action research (van Zomeren, 2016a).

In this chapter, we evaluate to what extent present work has accomplished its primary goals. In the following sections, we summarize the results obtained in Studies 1-9, shortly discuss the implications of current findings, point to the limitations of our research programme and highlight directions for future research.

12.1. Hypotheses testing – summary

Building on numerous theories with the leading role of sexual stigma theoretical framework (Herek, 2004, 2007, 2009), we formulated 44 specific hypotheses concerning the

antecedents of LGBT rights-related engagement. Table 31 summarizes results obtained for all of these hypotheses across Studies 1-9.

As presented in Table 31, 34 out of 44 hypotheses proposed in Chapters 3-5 received unequivocal support from the data. In line with our expectations, collective action of LGBT individuals was facilitated by in-group identification, network embeddedness and pro-LGBT SMOs. On the other hand, internalized homophobia and institutional stigma were demonstrated to inhibit LGBT activism. Mediation analyses confirmed the majority of processes we proposed in Chapter 3. Specifically, internalized homophobia decreased and network embeddedness increased engagement of LGBT people by affecting their in-group identification. At the same time, pro-LGBT SMOs promoted collective action of sexual and gender minorities by fostering network embeddedness. Finally, the negative effect of institutional stigma was mediated by the subsequent increase of internalized homophobia and the decrease of in-group identification.

As far as LGBT activism was concerned, only one expected effect did not emerge, leading us to the rejection of three hypotheses (H8-H10). Contrary to our theorizing, the presence of local SMOs did not translate into stronger in-group identification among LGBT individuals. Consequently, in-group identification could not serve as the mediator of a positive association between SMOs and the engagement of minority members. When considered jointly with the results of Study 3, which showed a negative effect of institutional stigma on in-group identification, the null effect of SMOs suggests that LGBT identity is shaped by the factors from the macro- rather than the meso-level of analysis.

Table 31

Hypothesis testing – summary

	Hypothesis	Study								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	In-group identification increases collective action among LGBT individuals.	+	+	+						
2	Internalized homophobia lowers collective action among LGBT individuals.	+		+						
3	Internalized homophobia lowers LGBT individuals' collective action by decreasing in-group identification.	+		+						
4	Network embeddedness increases collective action among LGBT individuals.		+							
5	Network embeddedness increases LGBT individuals' collective action by enhancing in-group identification.		+							
6	Pro-LGBT SMOs increase collective action among LGBT individuals.		+							
7	Pro-LGBT SMOs increase LGBT individuals' engagement by fostering network embeddedness.		+							

Note. "+" denotes support for a given hypothesis. "-" stands for the lack of support for a given hypothesis.

Table 31 (continued)

Hypothesis testing – summary

	Hypothesis	Study								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
8	Pro-LGBT SMOs increase LGBT individuals' engagement by subsequently increasing network embeddedness and in-group identification.		-							
9	Pro-LGBT SMOs increase in-group identification among LGBT individuals.		-							
10	Pro-LGBT SMOs increase LGBT individuals' engagement by increasing in-group identification.		-							
11	Institutional stigma decreases collective action among LGBT individuals.			+						
12	Institutional stigma decreases collective action among LGBT individuals by strengthening internalized stigma.			+						
13	Institutional stigma decreases collective action among LGBT individuals by subsequently strengthening internalized stigma and lowering in-group identification.			+						

Note. "+" denotes support for a given hypothesis. "-" stands for the lack of support for a given hypothesis.

Table 31 (continued)

Hypothesis testing – summary

	Hypothesis	Study								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
14	Identification with LGBT social movement increases collective action in support of LGBT rights among heterosexual/cisgender individuals.							+		
15	Modern homonegativity decreases collective action in support of LGBT rights.				+	+	+	+	+	
16	Collective action in support of LGBT rights is better explained by modern than old-fashioned homonegativity.				+	+	+	+	+	
17	Intergroup contact increases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action in support of LGBT rights.				+	+	+	+	+	
18	Intergroup contact increases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action in support of LGBT rights by reducing modern homonegativity.				+	+	+	+	+	

Note. "+" denotes support for a given hypothesis. "-" stands for the lack of support for a given hypothesis.

Table 31 (continued)

Hypothesis testing – summary

	Hypothesis	Study								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
19	The positive effect of intergroup contact on heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action in support of LGBT rights is mediated to a greater extent by modern than old-fashioned homonegativity.				+	+	+	+	+	
20	Intergroup contact increases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action in support of LGBT rights by increasing identification with LGBT social movement.							+		
21	Network embeddedness increases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action in support of LGBT rights.							+		
22	Network embeddedness increases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action in support of LGBT rights by reducing modern homonegativity.							+		

Note. "+" denotes support for a given hypothesis. "-" stands for the lack of support for a given hypothesis.

Table 31 (continued)

Hypothesis testing – summary

	Hypothesis	Study								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
23	The positive effect of network embeddedness on heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action in support of LGBT rights is mediated to a greater extent by modern than old-fashioned homonegativity.							+		
24	Network embeddedness increases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action in support of LGBT rights by increasing identification with LGBT social movement.							+		
25	Pro-LGBT SMOs increase collective action in support of LGBT rights.								-	
26	Pro-LGBT SMOs increase collective action in support of LGBT rights by promoting contact with sexual and gender minorities.								-	

Note. "+" denotes support for a given hypothesis. "-" stands for the lack of support for a given hypothesis.

Table 31 (continued)

Hypothesis testing – summary

	Hypothesis	Study								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
27	Pro-LGBT SMOs increase collective action in support of LGBT rights by lowering modern homonegativity.								-	
28	Institutional stigma decreases intergroup contact with sexual minorities.									+
29	Institutional stigma increases sexual prejudice.									+
30	Institutional stigma promotes sexual prejudice by limiting intergroup contact with sexual minorities.									+
31	Identification with anti-LGBT social movement increases collective action against LGBT rights among heterosexual/cisgender individuals.							+		
32	Old-fashioned homonegativity increases collective action against LGBT rights among heterosexual/cisgender individuals.						+	+	+	

Note. "+" denotes support for a given hypothesis. "-" stands for the lack of support for a given hypothesis.

Table 31 (continued)

Hypothesis testing – summary

	Hypothesis	Study								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
33	Collective action against LGBT rights undertaken by heterosexual/cisgender individuals is better explained by old-fashioned than modern homonegativity.						+	+	+	
34	Intergroup contact decreases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action against LGBT rights.						-	+	-	
35	Intergroup contact decreases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action against LGBT rights by reducing old-fashioned homonegativity.						+	+	+	
36	The negative effect of intergroup contact on heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action against LGBT rights is mediated to a greater extent by old-fashioned than modern homonegativity.						+	+	+	

Note. "+" denotes support for a given hypothesis. "-" stands for the lack of support for a given hypothesis.

Table 31 (continued)

Hypothesis testing – summary

	Hypothesis	Study								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
37	Intergroup contact decreases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action against LGBT rights by decreasing identification with anti-LGBT social movement.							+		
38	Anti-LGBT network embeddedness increases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action against LGBT rights.							+		
39	Anti-LGBT network embeddedness increases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action against LGBT rights by increasing old-fashioned homonegativity.							+		

Note. "+" denotes support for a given hypothesis. "-" stands for the lack of support for a given hypothesis.

Table 31 (continued)

Hypothesis testing – summary

	Hypothesis	Study								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
40	The positive effect of anti-LGBT network embeddedness on heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action against LGBT rights is mediated to a greater extent by old-fashioned than modern homonegativity.							+		
41	Anti-LGB network embeddedness increases heterosexual/cisgender individuals' collective action against LGBT rights by increasing identification with anti-LGBT social movement.							+		
42	Pro-LGBT SMOs decrease collective action against LGBT rights.								-	
43	Pro-LGBT SMOs decrease collective action against LGBT rights by promoting contact with sexual and gender minorities.								-	
44	Pro-LGBT SMOs decrease collective action against LGBT rights by reducing old-fashioned homonegativity.								-	

Note. "+" denotes support for a given hypothesis. "-" stands for the lack of support for a given hypothesis.

Heterosexual/cisgender individuals' engagement in solidarity with LGBT people – the second case of collective action considered in the present dissertation – was promoted by intergroup contact, network embeddedness and pro-LGBT politicized identity. At the same time, modern homonegativity diminished protest behaviour intended to increase LGBT rights. Importantly, the negative effect of modern homonegativity was significantly stronger than the effect of its old-fashioned counterpart, confirming our hypothesis on the conceptual match between modern prejudice and solidarity-based engagement. Neither collective action in solidarity with LGBT people nor sexual prejudice depended on pro-LGBT SMOs, which prompted us to reject three hypotheses (H25-H27). As already discussed in Chapter 10, one may tentatively attribute this result to minority-focused character of local LGBT SMOs. On the other hand, institutional stigma was demonstrated to increase intergroup contact and different types of sexual prejudice.

In terms of underlying processes, the positive effects of pro-LGBT network embeddedness and intergroup contact on solidarity-based collective action were mediated simultaneously by the decrease of modern homonegativity and the increase of identification with LGBT rights movement. At the same time, decline of societal-level intergroup contact mediated the positive relationship between institutional stigma and sexual prejudice.

Finally, Studies 6-8 demonstrated the antecedents of collective action against LGBT rights. In line with our expectations, engagement intended to limit the rights of sexual and gender minorities was facilitated by old-fashioned homonegativity, anti-LGBT politicized identity and embeddedness in anti-LGBT activist network. In contrast, local LGBT SMOs did not predict collective action against LGBT rights, contradicting H42-H44. Mediation analyses lent support to some processes proposed in Chapter 5. As hypothesized, intergroup contact limited anti-LGBT engagement by lowering old-fashioned homonegativity and identification with anti-LGBT social movement. The same two variables mediated the positive effect of

anti-LGBT network embeddedness. What warrant an additional comment are the results obtained for intergroup contact. While Study 7 and the meta-analysis of primary effect suggested that knowing LGBT people decreased willingness to engage in collective action against this group, Studies 6 and 8 showed that intergroup contact did not affect this type of engagement. Taken together, these findings indicate that the potential inhibitory effect of intergroup contact on anti-LGBT collective action is extremely small and, if existing at all, occurs by the decrease of old-fashioned homonegativity and anti-LGBT politicized identity.

12.2. Topic-specific implications

Present research provides extensive evidence on the antecedents of collective action related to LGBT rights. Importantly, embedding our research programme in sexual stigma conceptual framework (Herek 2004, 2007, 2009) and measuring similar variables in relation to LGBT activism and collective action of heterosexual/cisgender majority allows us to compare the explanatory power of specific factors when different types of engagement are concerned. First, it is possible to juxtapose the antecedents of collective action in support of LGBT rights taken by minority and majority representatives. Second, one may contrast the sources of majority members' engagement intended to increase vs. decrease the rights of sexual and gender minorities.

As shown in Table 32, collective action with the goal of improving the legal standing of LGBT people has similar antecedents among minority and majority members. Specifically, it is promoted by network embeddedness and collective identity – the latter either in the form of in-group identification or pro-LGBT politicized identity. By contrast, internalization of sexual stigma – both in the form of internalized homophobia and modern sexual prejudice – impedes collective action aiming to flatten heterosexist hierarchy. Finally, although we did not investigate how institutional stigma affects engagement in solidarity with LGBT people,

results of Study 9 suggest a negative association between these variables. As such, institutional stigma is likely to discourage both minority and majority members from actively demanding the extension of LGBT rights.

The only discrepancy between LGBT and heterosexual/cisgender individuals pertains to the effect of institutionalized LGBT rights movement. While local SMOs promote LGBT activism by increasing structural availability of LGBT individuals, such effect does not occur for solidarity-based collective action.

Table 32

Antecedents of pro-LGBT collective action among LGBT minority and heterosexual/cisgender majority members

	LGBT minority	Heterosexual/cisgender majority
Collective identity	+	+
Internalized stigma / sexual prejudice	-	-
Network embeddedness	+	+
Pro-LGBT SMOs	+	No relationship
Institutional stigma	-	No data

Note. While "-" denotes a negative relationship, "+" stands for a positive relationship.

When different types of majority members' engagement are concerned, it is also possible to observe some similarities (Table 33). Specifically, both solidarity-based collective action as well as engagement against LGBT rights are promoted by (pro- or anti-LGBT, respectively) network embeddedness and politicized identity. In a similar vein, the two types of heterosexual/cisgender individuals' engagement show strong associations with sexual

prejudice. However, while solidarity-based collective action is diminished by modern homonegativity, collective action against LGBT rights exhibits a positive relationship with old-fashioned homonegativity. As such, there is a conceptual match between the two types of sexual prejudice and the two types of majority members' engagement. At the same time, neither collective action intended to increase, nor collective action aimed to decrease minority rights depends on pro-LGBT SMOs.

The two types of heterosexual/cisgender individuals' engagement are, however, differentiated by their associations with intergroup contact. Whereas having LGBT friends and acquaintances promotes solidarity-based protest behaviour, it shows nearly no relationship to collective action against LGBT rights.

Table 33

Antecedents of solidarity-based engagement and collective action against LGBT rights among heterosexual/cisgender majority members

	Collective action intended to increase LGBT rights	Collective action intended to decrease LGBT rights
Politicized identity	+	+
Modern homonegativity	-	No relationship
Old-fashioned homonegativity	No relationship	+
Intergroup contact	+	-/No relationship
Network embeddedness	+	+
Pro-LGBT SMOs	No relationship	No relationship

Note. While "-" denotes a negative relationship, "+" stands for a positive relationship.

The results summarized in Tables 32 and 33 led to two important conclusions. First, engagement related to LGBT rights has grounding in distal, structural conditions that stimulate protest behaviour either directly or by shaping its psychological antecedents. This is especially evident when LGBT activism is concerned. As shown in Study 3, institutional stigma (a macro-level structural factor) inhibits engagement of sexual minories' members by promoting internalized homophobia and lowering in-group identification (micro-level psychological factors). At the same time, Study 2 revealed that local SMOs' (a meso-level structural factor) facilitate LGBT activism by increasing structural availability (a micro-level structural factor) of prospective participants. As such, collective action of LGBT individuals depends on the structure they are embedded in. If power distance between majority and minority group is relatively small (as is the case in the countries with progressive legal regulations), collective action intended to improve the position of one's stigmatized in-group is a logical, and relatively undemanding step to take. By contrast, in highly unequal strucures (e.g., in countries characterized by strong institutional stigma) psychological fuel for engagement is hard to be found. The contrast between anti-homophobia protests in New York and Kazan introduced in Chapter 1 serves as a good illustration of this point.

Although to a lesser extent, structural setting seems to matter also for heterosexual/cisgender protesters. Specifically, by increasing the relevant type of politicized identity, knowing pro- or anti-LGBT activists fosters solidarity-based engagement and collective action against LGBT rights, respectively (similar mechanism operates for LGBT people as well). Importantly, effects of network embeddedness on collective action among majority members cannot be reduced to intergroup contact with LGBT individuals. Being acquainted with LGBT activists or straight allies stimulates solidarity-based engagement independently from regular contact with LGBT people.

Second, comparisons between different types of collective action examined in the current research provide valuable information for the practice of LGBT SMOs. An important lesson to learn is that mobilization tools should match the targeted audience and the objective of the specific collective action event. At least in the Polish context, local LGBT SMOs seem to be successful at reaching out to minority members – LGBT individuals declare higher engagement intentions in counties where LGBT rights movement has been institutionalized. On the other hand, LGBT SMOs have little influence on heterosexual/cisgender individuals. As shown by the results of Study 8, local LGBT organizations do not translate either on solidarity-based activism or collective action against LGBT rights. Perhaps, to bring about social change, local LGBT SMOs should devote more resources to addressing majority members. The specific narrative of such communicates should correspond to the goal the activists wish to achieve. If SMOs seek to recruit more straight allies, confronting modern homonegativity beliefs seems essential. One way to do it may rely on encouraging heterosexual/cisgender individuals to take the perspective of LGBT people (see Batson et al., 1997; Todd & Galinsky, 2014). As shown in the context of race (Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003), putting oneself into minority member's shoes serves as an efficient tool to reduce modern prejudice. On the other hand, if LGBT SMOs wish to counteract collective action against LGBT rights, effort should be paid to old-fashioned homonegativity beliefs. As this type of prejudice seems to originate from disgust and fear, these emotions should be neutralized first.

12.3. General implications

From a more general perspective, the current research aimed to integrate insights from different paradigms of collective action research (van Zomeren, 2016a). This integration was supposed to account for the shortcomings of particular disciplines. First, we wished to

overcome the structural blindess of social psychology that tends to decouple engagement from its structural setting. Second, we sought to fill in the "black box" specific to sociology and political science that typically fail to specify the psychological mechanisms connecting structural conditions to individual behavior (Kitts, 2000). To attain this goal, we simultaneously assessed structural and psychological antecedents of engagement in the part of our research.

Using statistical significance as a criterion, our attempt to bridge different perspectives on collective action seems partially successful. Assuming the precedence of structure over intrapsychic phenomena, present studies reveal several psychological mechanisms by which structural factors translate into collective action. For instance, discriminatory legal regulations diminish engagement of LGBT individuals by affecting internalized stigma and in-group identification. At the same time, structural availability of minority and majority members was shown to facilitate collective action by strenghtening collective identities. However, some expected mechanisms did not emerge. For example, SMOs did not promote solidarity-based engagement of heterosexual/cisgender people by diminishing modern homonegativity or fostering the development of politicized identities.

It should be noted that the present research conceptualized the interplay between structural and psychological antecedents of collective action as mediation processes. However, it is also possible to think of it in terms of moderation (e.g., Cichocka et al., 2017; Welzel & Deutsch, 2012). Although the current data was better reflected by meditational than moderational models, we do not claim that this approach is universally better.

12.4. Limitations

Notwithstanding its theoretical and practical implications, several caveats of the current research programme should be mentioned. Chief among these is mostly cross-

sectional character of the utilized data, which prevents us from making strong inferences in terms of causality. This limitation applies especially to the studies examining collective action among heterosexual/cisgender individuals, all of which provided single-measurement data only. While we acknowledge this apparent weakness, it is important to reiterate that the large part of causal relationships assumed in the current research find support in the results of previous research. For instance, the negative effect of intergroup contact on prejudice is substantiated by both experimental (e.g., Ensari & Miller, 2002) and longitudinal evidence (Swart, Hewstone, Christ, & Voci, 2011). Moreover, out of two causal directions investigated in the literature, it is the contact's effect on prejudice (versus prejudice's effect on contact), which is usually stronger (e.g., Pettigrew, 1997; Swart et al., 2011; for the exception see e.g. Binder et al., 2009). Furthermore, prior strong-design studies revealed that acting in solidarity with the disadvantaged is *increased by* positive intergroup contact (Reimer et al., 2017) and opinion-based group identity (Thomas, McGarty, Reese et al., 2016). Thus, there are sound reasons to believe that the causality flow proposed in our hypotheses is adequate. Nonetheless, future research would do well to verify some of the current hypotheses with longitudinal or experimental data.

Second, like most research in collective action literature, our studies measured collective action tendencies instead of actual engagement. Although previous research shows that behavioural intentions serve as a good proxy for behaviour (e.g., Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009; Webb & Sheeran, 2006), future studies would certainly benefit from assessing collective action tendencies along with the actual participation.

Another weakness of our research relies on the suboptimal measurement of some constructs. Specifically, the single-item measure of network embeddedness (Studies 2 and 7) does not provide detailed information on the relationships with activists a person has. For example, it does not tap on the quality of these relationships or the frequency of contacts. A

similar problem is posed by the binary operationalization of pro-LGBT SMOs in Studies 2 and 8. It is conceivable that collective action of minority and majority members depends not only on the proximity of pro-LGBT SMOs, but also on other features of local LGBT rights movement. For instance, LGBT and heterosexual/cisgender individuals may be more likely to engage in protest behaviour in counties where SMOs focus on fighting for equality rather than providing assistance to minority members. It should be noted, however, that despite their crude measurement, network embeddedness and pro-LGBT SMOs were predictive of LGBT activism, and the former exerted significant effect on collective action of heterosexual/cisgender inidividuals. Using more comprehensive measures of these variables would result probably in stronger associations with respective outcomes.

Using counties as a meso-level unit of analysis constitutes another limitation of the present research. One could argue that counties in which the average population size equals 101,139 residents (BDL, 2018) are too large to reflect what individual people perceive as their local communities. In other words, it is easy to imagine several enclaves with different sociodemographic and ideological structure functioning within a single county. Perhaps, this is exactly the internal heterogeneity of particular counties that is responsible for the lack of meso-level effects registered in Study 8. Thus, gmina – the lower unit of administrative division with an average population size of 15,510 residents (BDL, 2018) – could be more appropriate as a meso-level unit of analysis. However, because of the sensitive character of the collected data (e.g., sexual orientation), we did not ask participants of Studies 2 and 8 to provide detailed information as far as their place of residence was concerned.

The low number of countries examined in Study 3 not only did not allow us to employ MLM (a suitable technique to investigate macro-level antecedents of individual properties) but also limited the generalizability of our findings to the Eastern European context. To obtain

stronger evidence on the inhibitory effects of institutional stigma on LGBT activism, future studies should employ larger and more heterogeneous samples of countries.

Finally, despite formulating predictions on this issue (Chapters 4 and 5), we were unable to check if institutional stigma translated into engagement of heterosexual/cisgender majority members. Although Eurobarometer outperforms other comparative studies investigating attitudes toward sexual and gender minorities, it does not include questions on LGBT rights-related collective action. However, given the close link between sexual prejudice and engagement of majority members revealed in Studies 4-8, and the strong effects of institutional stigma on attitudes toward LGBT people registered in Study 9, we feel legitimate to assume that heterosexist legal regulations affect collective action of heterosexual/cisgender individuals. The precise direction of this effect depends on the goal of engagement. Specifically, current data suggests that institutional stigma inhibits solidarity-based collective action by promoting the modern type sexual prejudice and stimulates anti-LGBT activism by fostering old-fashioned antipathy toward LGBT people. Of course, the actual test of these conclusions requires appropriate data.

12.5. Future directions

The limitations of the present research point to potential future developments in collective action literature. In this section, we indicate several possible directions, pinpointing methodological and theoretical advancements the future studies may make.

Although our study programme builds heavily on LGBT-specific theoretical traditions (e.g., sexual stigma theoretical framework), some of its elements refer to common intergroup processes and, therefore, should be checked in terms of their generalizability. For example, modern and old-fashioned prejudice may be predictive of different types of collective action in the context of race, ethnicity or gender. Considering intergroup hierarchy based on gender,

men high in traditional sexism may be especially likely to engage in collective action directed at the limitiation of women's rights (e.g. by imposing total abortion ban, see The Guardian, 2018) and the low level of modern sexism may be necessary for men to support the feminist movement (see Malinowska, Górska, Lipowska, & Stefaniak, 2018). Similarly, it is reasonable to expect that the effects of network embeddedness would replicate in other settings. For instance, by entailing the growth of ethnic prejudice, being interwoven in a network of nationalist activists should promote collective action against immigrants or refugees. As such, future studies may try to reproduce the present findings in non-LGBT contexts.

Furthermore, especially with regard to majority group engagement, it would be worthwhile to replicate our findings using longitudinal designs. The use of designs with at least three measurements is strongly encouraged. Collecting data across at least three different occasions would allow testing longitudinal mediations (Selig & Preacher, 2009) and, therefore, making strong causal inferences about processes leading to collective action. Furthermore, data with more than two measurements may be handled with latent growth curve modelling (LGCM; Bollen & Curran, 2006) and its extensions such as growth mixture modelling (GMM; Duncan, Duncan, & Strycker, 2013). In contrast to cross-lagged analysis that models *interindividual* differences in changes over time and concentrates on the relationships between variables, LGCM focuses on *intraindividual* changes. Thus, with this technique, individual trajectories of change may be assessed. This feature of LGCM opens up a range of possibilities for theorizing. Most importantly, it invites thinking about the factors that determine the pace and direction of the processes leading to engagement. For instance, using LGCM it becomes possible to check if identity politicization (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Turner-Zwinkels et al., 2015) follows faster among individuals who are well embedded

in the activist network as compared to individuals who do not have personal ties with activists.

Another interesting prospect is to investigate the impact of heterosexist legal regulations on LGBT rights-related collective action among heterosexual/cisgender individuals. As noted in Chapter 11, we are not aware of a publicly available comparative dataset that would include the measures of engagement in support of or against LGBT rights across different countries. Running such a study requires substantial resources and, as such, was beyond the range of the present dissertation. However, for the sake of potential insights, international agencies specializing in LGBT issues (e.g., ILGA) may consider conducting a comparative research of LGBT activism and anti-LGBT engagement. Ideally, such a study should be continued over a longer period of time to allow examining whether these are the legal regulations that affect activism (a top-down process) or collective action that changes the legal order (a bottom-up process).

Given the positive effects of network embeddedness and collective action, present results encourage more research on how social ties affect engagement and how activism shapes interpersonal relationships. Following the recent trends in intergroup contact literature, we believe that borrowing measurement and analytical tools from social network paradigm would be especially benefitial for collective action research. For example, egocentric network designs (see Perry, Pescasolido, & Borgatti, 2018), where participants are asked to indicate a specific number of acquaintances (termed *alters* in social network terminology) exhibiting a certain characteristic (e.g., being an activist), describe the perceived attributes of these acquaintances (e.g., prejudice) and rate ties with these acquaintances on multiple dimensions (e.g., closeness) allow for gaining a close view on relational underpinnigns and consequences of engagement. At the same time, whole network designs, where all members of a given group (e.g., an SMO) are interviewed, allow checking how network properties such as

clustering or self-reported alters' attributes affect behaviour of particular individuals. When applied to longitudinal data, the precise statistical apparatus of social network analysis (SNA) is capable of disentangling the effects of social influence (when the network position affects one's beliefs and behavior) from selection effects (e.g., when collective action changes the properties of one's position in the network; see Snijders, 2011). Because of all these features, SNA seems well suited to investigate the structural correlates of naturally existing protest behaviour.

To further examine the relationship between intergroup contact and outgroup-directed engagement, we suggest that future research should examine positive and negative contact simultaneously. Within intergroup contact literature, it is already recognized that, in contrast to its positive counterpart, negative contact with out-group members enhances prejudice (e.g., Barlow et al., 2012, Graf, Paolini, & Rubin, 2014; Paolini et al., 2010; Techakesari, Barlow, Hornsey, Sung, Thai, & Chak, 2015). Moreover, by worsening attitudes toward sexual minorities, negative encounters with LGB people were shown to inhibit solidarity-based collective action among heterosexual/cisgender individuals (Reimer et al., 2017). We believe that by promoting old-fashioned homonegativity, negative encounters with LGBT people may facilitate anti-LGBT collective action among heterosexual/cisgender individuals.

Another avenue for the future research would involve investigating the role of positive attitudes toward LGBT people as a determinant of collective action in solidarity with this group. Since, among others, the present dissertation was intended to provide further evidence on the divergences between the classic and contemporary type of sexual prejudice, we assessed outgroup-directed attitudes with the scales of old-fashioned and modern homonegativity. Thus, the most favourable level of outgroup-directed attitudes we could gauge with these instruments was the lack of old-fashioned and modern prejudice. However, the absence of outgroup-directed antipathy does not automatically imply out-group liking

(Pittinsky et al., 2011a, 2011b). As evident from past research, negative and positive attitudues constitute separate phenomena that differ in terms of their evolutionary origin (Fredrickson, 1998, 2001), neurological underpinnings (LeDoux, 1996) and functions (Cacioppo & Berntson, 1994, 2001). Most importantly, negative outgroup-directed attitudes serve as an especially good predictor of hostile behaviours, while positive attitudes are relatively more predictive of friendly, approach-related behaviors (Pittinsky et al., 2011a). Therefore, collective action aimed to improve outgroup's legal standing – clearly a positive outgroup-directed behaviour – should depend to a greater extent upon the presence of outgroup-directed positive attidues than the absence of prejudice. It seems, then, that future research on collective action in solidarity with LGBT people would benefit from measuring positive attitudes toward this group (e.g., Morrison & Bearden, 2007) next to different types of sexual prejudice.

Relatedly, future research could benefit from adopting a more granular perspective on collective action against LGBT people. Specifically, it may be interesting to differentiate between collective action intended to limit the rigths of sexual and gender minorities – the type of engagement examined in the present dissertation – and collective action taken to stop the emancipation of LGBT individuals (e.g., mass protests against same-sex marriage bill in France; BBC, 2012). There are two reasons to believe that these two cases of LGBT rights-related collective action are distinct in terms of their functions and psychological underpinnings. Most importantly, the two instances of engagement seem to differ as far as their relation to the status quo is concerned. Collective action against the extension of LGBT rights may be qualified as an example of *system-supporting protest* – the type of engagement that follows from high system justification and is intended to preserve the exisiting arrangements (Jost, Becker, Osborne, & Badaan, 2017; Osborne, Jost, Becker, Badaan, & Sibley, in press). By contrast, the character of collective action taken to restrict LGBT rights

is less clear. On one hand, it aims to maintain the superior status of heterosexual/cisgender majority relative to sexual and gender minorities, which would suggest considering it a case of system-supporting engagement. On the other hand, by attempting to widen the power distance between heterosexual/cisgender majority and LGBT minority, it questions the status quo, and, as a result may be an instancee of *system-challenging protest* – a kind of engagement that results from low system justification (Jost et al., 2017). Using different typology (Duncan, 1999; Tilly, 1976), collective action against the increase of LGBT rights may be characterized as *reactive*, as it constitutes the response to changing external conditions (i.e., LGBT rights movement demands) and the potential loss of in-group status (i.e., equality imposition). At the same time, engagement that aims to diminish the rights of sexual and gender minorities may be characterized as *proactive*, as its intention is to go beyond the present arrangements. Furthermore, the two types of anti-LGBT collective action are likely to exhibit different relations to sexual prejudice. While collective action pursued to restrict LGBT rights stems from high old-fashioned homonegativity – a relationship demonstrated in the present research – engagement intended to stop the emancipation of sexual and gender minorities may emerge from the high level of modern homonegativity.

Finally, future studies could pay greater attention to inaction, especially when heterosexual/cisgender majority is concerned. Low means for engagement intentions registered in Studies 6-8 suggest that, in general, Poles are not willing to take part in any kind of LGBT rights-related collective action, regardless of its aim. It would be interesting to investigate if the low engagement motivation identified in the present research originates from general attitudes toward civic engagement (as reflected, for instance, by political alienation; see Korzeniowski, 1994) or has more issue-specific causes (e.g. concern over being misidentified as an LGBT individual; see Buck, Plant, Ratcliff, Zielaskowski, & Boerner, 2013).

12.6. Conclusion

Riots, demonstrations and protests have been drawing scholarly attention nearly since the birth of social sciences (e.g. de Tocqueville, 1857/1955; Le Bon, 1895/1965). Different disciplines have developed separate ways to investigate these phenomena. While political science and sociology have adopted the macro and meso perspectives, identifying structural conditions for the occurrence of social movements (e.g., Tarrow, 2011), social psychology has operated on the micro-level of analysis, trying to delineate the intrapsychic triggers of engagement (e.g., van Zomeren, 2013). The overarching aim of this dissertation was to integrate the structuralist and individualist approaches to collective action. By embedding our research in the context of LGBT rights and relating engagement to attitudes, identities, social networks, institutional setting and legal regulations, we tried to connect the dots (Ellemers, 2013) to reach a bigger picture of protest behavior and its antecedents. Certainly, even if only LGBT-specific engagement is concerned, the present research does not examine all potentially relevant factors or address all possible questions. At the same time, it provides numerous insights on the relationships between structural and psychological underpinnings of engagement. We hope that the current work – an initial step on the way to greater theoretical and empirical integration in collective action literature – would inspire a research journey of a thousand miles or more.

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